

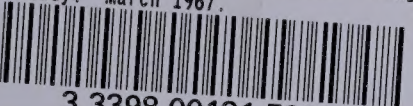
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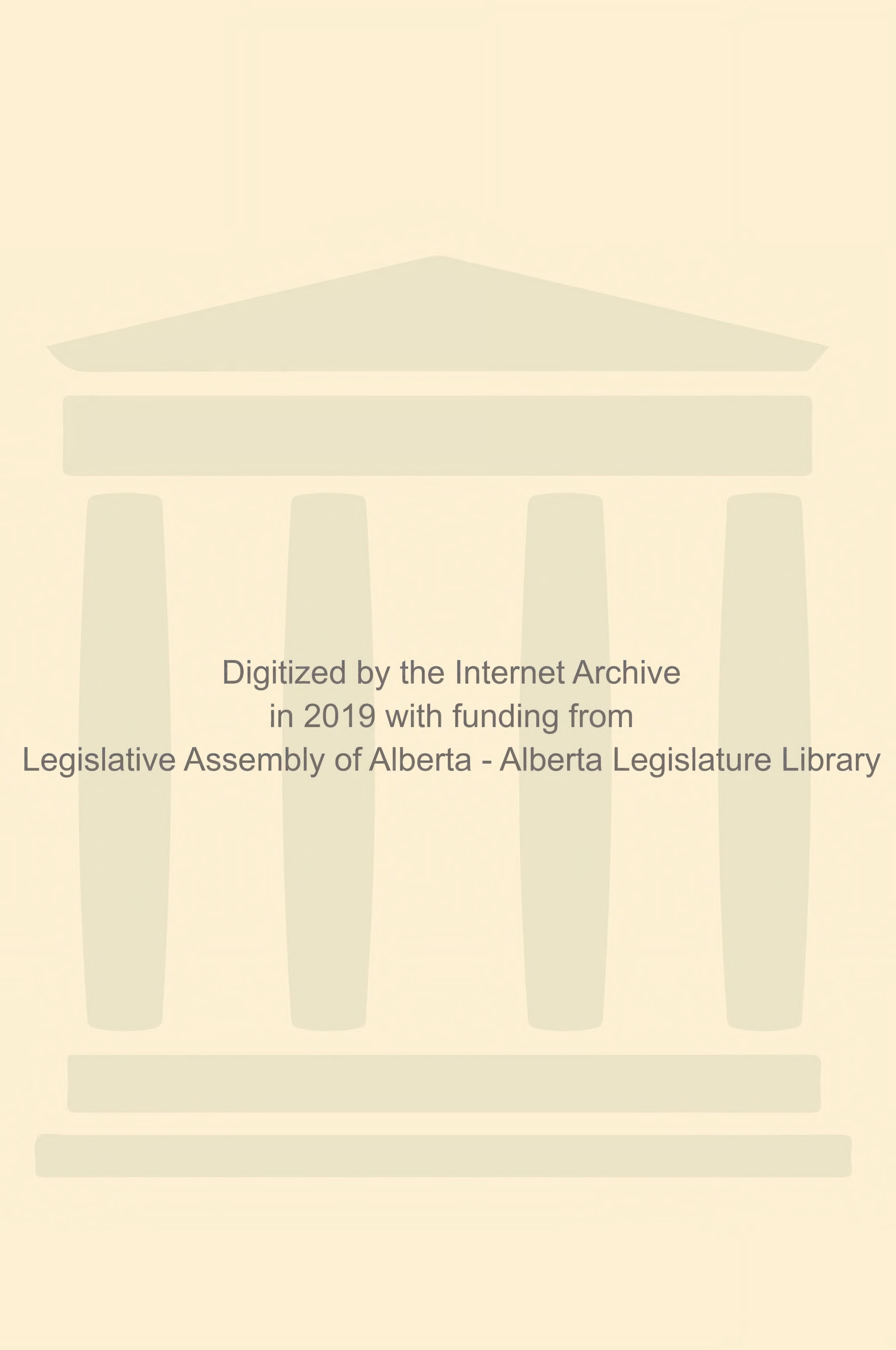
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COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY ASSESSMENT





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CALGARY STUDY

COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY ASSESSMENT

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**Human Resources Research and Development
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL - GOVERNMENT OF ALBERTA**

Edmonton, Alberta
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PROLOGUE

During the last several years in North America there has been an increased awareness of the tenacious continuation of problems of poverty in the midst of affluence. Until about ten years ago, it was normally assumed by both social scientists, and people from other disciplines such as social work, as well as the public generally, that problems of poverty were decreasing quite considerably because of the increased economic opportunities available in urban North America. Most of the books that are written about social problems and have chapters dealing with poverty, have concluded that although poverty groups still exist in North America, they have decreased quite considerably and probably will almost disappear with future development. The reality of the situation, however, is quite contrary to this favorable image. In the last several years the appearance of several publications and studies concerned with an outline of the extent of poverty in the United States particularly, has brought about a revaluation of the extent of poverty and the problems related thereto. Books such as Harrington's The Other America, as well as Galbraith's The Affluent Society and the Report of the Council of Economic Advisors have had a dramatic impact in changing the complacent attitude concerning poverty in the midst of plenty. It was realized, through further investigation and through reports of private and public agencies concerned with indigent populations in cities particularly, that the gap between various income groups in North America was indeed increasing, instead of decreasing. Although average incomes have certainly increased since the 1920's and 1930's, the increase among the higher income groups has been considerably greater than the increase among lower income groups, while the cost of living, has, of course, spiralled quite dramatically.

The lack of recognition of the very extensive problems of poverty (it is estimated by Harrington and others that the sub-marginal group in the United States comprises about 25 percent of the population) is attributable to a number of factors. First, because of the massive exodus from large cities following the Second World War, far fewer members of the more affluent population came into direct contact with people who were experiencing problems of poverty in cities. Secondly, it seems that the groups that have experienced

economic and social deprivation have not been as vocal in airing complaints, as they were, for example, during the Depression of the 1930's. In fact it could be considered that, having moved out of the Depression, many people felt that the most severe problems of poverty were automatically solved. A similar impression may have been gained by the surge of income following the Second World War, when the consumer market was considerably expanded, and savings which had accumulated during the War were spent very quickly on the purchase of consumer goods, and also on the quest for the tranquil community outside of large city centres. In other words, there has been an increasing separation of the "haves" and the "have-nots" in North American communities. This separation means, in practice, that the problems of poverty have become less "visible" than heretofore when both affluent and non-affluent groups resided contiguously in central city areas.

The reasons for the persistence of poverty in the midst of plenty are many and only a few will be dealt with in this prologue. First, there has been the very fast decline in the fortunes of agriculture in North America: this decline being more fully expressed in the United States than in Canada. The decline has brought about with it the decreasing number of farmers engaged in the one-farm operation, as well as an increase in the cooperative movements and monopolistic movements taking over farm enterprises. In addition to this factor is the increasing automation of the methods of farming, bringing about a decreased demand for laborers in farming operations. Consequently, poverty in rural areas has been existent for some time and is still striking in the United States, making up about one-third of the total poverty population. Another factor in the persistence of poverty in North America has been developing automation which obviously has decreased the need for relatively unskilled occupations. Consequently, individuals who were unable to retrain for the new occupations, or for various reasons were simply not given the opportunities to participate in the newly-developing economy, became part of the hard-core poverty group. The great inefficiency in the "production" of skilled people through the educational system has meant that people in the United States, as in Canada (the situation may, in fact, be even more severe in Canada where fewer people do receive higher education) have been excluded from competition for the new job opportunities. Another

factor accounting for the persistence of poverty is probably the traditional social welfare "laissez-faire" approach to the indigent population. This approach is simply a post factum approach to problems of social and economic deprivation, i. e., an approach occurring after development of the problem instead of an approach emphasizing the prevention of the problem. Because of this traditional maintenance ideology persisting in social welfare services in North America, many people who have suffered problems of indigency have lost motivation for competition and motivation for self-improvement. Another contributing factor has been the Northward migration of Negroes-- who have become part of the urban "dispossessed." Certainly, the increasing proportion of the elderly in both the United States and Canada, without adequate social insurance, has had an impact on the problems of deprivation.

The most significant new approach to problems of poverty is the community action approach which in the past few years has accelerated in the United States. Briefly, the community action programs attempt to coordinate all of the community resources available in an effort to bring together all of the relevant services for both the prevention and resolution of problems of social and economic deprivation. Another aspect of the community action program is that of getting to clients through decentralized activities as opposed to bureaucratized and centralized activities. Thus, for example, Community Progress, Incorporated in New Haven has organized essentially on a neighborhood services level, using the facilities of schools, and other community centres, for the provision of services and for greater accessibility to problem groups. There has also been the recognition that urban renewal cannot be seen only as a physical force--that "human renewal" must also be a vital, if not the most important, consideration. Consequently, the community action programs, such as Community Progress, Incorporated, have attempted to bring about closer residential integration between both majority and minority groups (in the United States mostly between Whites and Negroes) and also a greater equality of opportunities through education. In this latter respect, the pre-kindergarten programs for culturally-deprived children have proven to be of great potential value in bringing about increased motivation of children born into deprived families. The services of community action programs in bringing about a more equitable relationship between the

affluent member of the community, and the indigent members of the community include the following:

- a. Pre-kindergarten programs for socially-deprived children.
- b. The provision of adult training and rehabilitation activities.
- c. The decentralization of health services (locating clinics in neighborhood areas instead of concentrating health services in one or two centralized buildings).
- d. The provision of home-maker services.
- e. The provision of legal aid services (it has been recognized that many of the problems of demoralization characteristic of the poverty group relate to their inability to gain legal justice).
- f. The encouragement of "indigenous" leaders to serve as catalysts in bringing about greater community participation including political action on the part of deprived populations.
- g. The provision and decentralization of recreational areas, particularly geared for the needs of youth.

This list of just some of the services indicates the comprehensive scope of the generation of poverty. No longer can poverty be viewed as something that exists and develops in a vacuum. The development of social, psychological, and economic deprivation can be seen only as part of a total community process, whereby every resident in the community is vitally involved and can vitally affect the course of poverty.

In Canada, there has been declared a war on poverty which was initiated by the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council of the Government of Canada. Judging from the publications of this office, the Canadian version of the war on poverty is planned to be very similar to the American war on poverty. There is an emphasis on community action programs, the provision of greater educational and occupational opportunities for deprived populations, the emphasis in bringing about a better life for minority groups (such as Indians and Eskimos), and the provision of the equivalent of Vista (The Company of Young Canadians).

It is hoped, of course, that many of the problems engendered in the war on poverty in the United States will not be repeated in Canada. One of these problems has been the political problem. Community action programs

have floundered in the United States simply because they have tended to "upset the apple-cart" to a degree intolerable for vested-interest groups. Examples include the opposition of the legal profession to the provision of relatively inexpensive legal aid services to the indigent population, the opposition of White suburban residents to any threat of residential integration represented by the movement of Negroes, the opposition of slum landlords to providing improvements to tenement buildings, the opposition of school executives to changing curricula more geared to the cultural world of deprived children, the opposition to both public and private social service agencies to change of any kind, and most significant and perhaps most disappointing, the opposition on the part of personnel of community action programs themselves to bringing about too much change through the open-ended encouragement of the activities of "indigenous leaders." In this latter respect there have been many cases of indigenous leaders who have been hired by community action programs specifically to organize neighborhoods from which they come but, once they have achieved organization, and some degree of political action, these indigenous leaders are simply advised to slow down the pace. There is therefore a certain degree of inherent conservatism in an organization which is seemingly as progressive as a community action program.

These are the problems that Canada must avoid in order to achieve reasonable success in the war on poverty. It is to be expected that there will be some opposition regardless of how favorable the community situation is. Certain individuals and groups will always resist change on the basis that change is threatening to the status quo. This may be more of a problem in the established eastern cities, such as Montreal and Toronto which have a greater emphasis on tradition and perhaps a greater resistance to social change. In communities that are newer, for example Calgary and Edmonton, the resistance may not be quite so great although it doubtless will exist. It is therefore important to bear in mind that any new preventive welfare legislation, if it is significant legislation, which does bring about real change, will bring about a certain degree of opposition and conflict. It is

hoped that this opposition and conflict will not be viewed as a factor to lessen the speed of new programs but viewed merely as the inevitable reaction of people to new and engineered social programs. If political sensitivity to these conflicts is very great and if, as a result of this political sensitivity, some of the programs are inhibited or indeed never offered, there can be no doubt that poverty will remain a social problem and will increase as a social problem in the future with many more unfortunate consequences than the temporary conflicts that arise from the instigation of change in social welfare and social services.

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INTRODUCTION

This report is being submitted in four major sections. The first section reports an historical analysis of the development of social services and welfare programs in the city of Calgary and the province of Alberta, with some reference to development at the federal level. The purpose of this section is to provide some ideas of the kinds of social changes that have occurred in the province and in the city of Calgary, and how these changes affected social services and welfare programs. More specifically, it deals with the relative importance of private and public efforts in the respective realms of social services and welfare programs. It is important to consider the history of development of the broad spectrum of welfare activities in order to gain some appreciation of the kind of environment existing for new preventive social welfare programs in the city of Calgary.

The second section reports the geographical distribution of social and economic problems in the city of Calgary. This section suggests where the major problem areas are located and where future ones may arise. Also included is a brief profile of some of these areas.

The third section of the report presents the findings of an interview survey study, conducted in three community neighborhoods in Calgary, all of which are located near the central core and have been identified as problem areas and also areas where urban renewal will have some impact in the next few years.

The fourth section includes two reports of "participant observation" in the study areas, suggesting data and information that could not be adequately derived from formal interviews.

CHAPTER I

A SYNOPSIS OF THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL SERVICES

AND WELFARE PROGRAMS IN

ALBERTA AND CALGARY

The general impression that one gains in perusing a great amount of material concerning the development of private and public welfare and social service activities in Alberta is that the public sector has entered into the social field often by default and often after private agencies have initiated the first actions. This is an important consideration with respect to how well the public and private spheres can be integrated to provide a comprehensive scheme for preventive welfare services in the future developments of the province and its cities. This observation can be further seen when viewing more specific aspects of the development of the private and public endorsed and supported social welfare and social service activities.

Generally the development of Alberta bears many similarities to development of other provinces and other states in the U.S. A. The major feature of the development of Alberta, similar to other parts of North America, has been the rapid change from a rural, agrarian economy to an urban, specialized economy. During the early stages in the development of agriculturally-based communities, there is usually a development of "mutual aid societies" which are voluntary efforts on the part of citizens to help each other out in times of need. Thus, crises situations, problems of indigency and certain family problems are considered of vital interest to members of the community at large. This is very much the picture of the early phases in the development of Alberta during the late 1800's. Much of the evidence perused suggests very strongly that from the period broadly covering the 1870's to the early 1900's, all social service and welfare programs were voluntary citizen action programs with very little support by the public sector. Of course, until the 1900's, the settlement of Calgary was relatively small and there was no municipal structure which could generate public departments concerned with the indigent population. Moreover, the province was, at that time, only a territory and there was very little, if any, federal assistance vis-à-vis the social welfare area. The only social problem that

seems to be dominant during this early period was the relatively large consumption of intoxicants by some of the earlier settlers--a problem which was recognized with some alarm by the federal government, which permitted intoxicants only for medicinal purposes. The first effort to establish a "charitable" enterprise in the new settlement was represented by the establishment of the Holy Cross Hospital in 1891, under the Sisters of Charity (Grey Nuns). The Grey Nuns were workers in the enterprise of "providing hospitalization for the needy and sick in the early days of the settlement." Another development was the establishment of the Y. W. C. A. in 1907, but this organization was not specialized "for welfare" to the same extent as the Holy Cross Hospital.

With the population growth, largely stimulated by the extension of the C. P. R. through Calgary, there were some obvious needs for the development of even more organizations. The organizations and agencies that developed, again were mainly private ventures. The Children's Aid Department, however, which was founded in 1909, was a municipal organization--but with obviously restricted terms of reference. The Calgary Family Service Bureau, organized in 1910, had the initial support of private groups, although it later became subsidized by the city of Calgary. Also, the private "Associated Charities," organized in 1910, received an initial grant from the city.

The province of Alberta was relatively inactive in the area of public welfare, until probably around the mid-1930s. Until that time, the only public welfare legislation, which was enacted by the Alberta government, was the Neglected Independent Children's Act, in 1909; the Mother's Allowance Act, in 1918; and the Child Welfare Act, in 1925, all of which came under the Department of the Attorney General. It is estimated that in 1921 there were approximately seventeen philanthropic and welfare organizations in Calgary which were beginning to depend, in part or in whole, upon public donations for funding necessary for their work. This proliferation of voluntary agencies brought about an awareness for the need of some kind of integration and common fund-support drives. As a consequence, a joint committee of the Board of Trade, the Kiwanis Club and Rotary Club was organized to look into the possibility of establishing a Community Chest in Calgary. The

idea was supported but the organization was not formed until much later (1940). The Depression of the 1930s stimulated considerable intervention in social welfare by both the federal and provincial governments. Federally, the Old Age Pension Act, established in 1927, provided for a non-contributory program based on federal sharing in provincial schemes. The provincial government, faced with some of the pressing realities of the Depression, became very active in welfare programs. Prior to the Depression the municipalities of Alberta had responsibility for their own indigent population. The Bureau of Public Welfare, established in 1936, was activated to integrate and administer public relief programs. The federal government attempted to introduce Unemployment Insurance in 1935 but, for various reasons, this was defeated by the Privy Council, referring to certain restrictions under the British North America Act. With this defeat, there came about a growing conviction that the provincial governments held essential responsibility for social welfare programs.

The major changes that were brought about through the federal level were the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1940 which, of course, affected all of the provinces, and the Family Allowance Act of 1944. Following the Second World War, the Veteran's Charter provided extensive pensions, medical care provisions, and resettlement benefits for all members of the Armed Forces and the Department of Veteran's Affairs was created to administer the programs. Also, after the Second World War, the Department of Health and Pensions became the National Health and Welfare, with a Deputy Minister for the Welfare Branch.

In Calgary, the first significant development with respect to public intervention in public welfare was the establishment of the City Welfare Department in 1922. The Board of Public Welfare, however, which was established in 1923, apparently provided much of the relief through private solicitations of funds. Thereafter, the area of social services and public welfare became a concern for both public and private agencies. There was little doubt, however, that private organizations and agencies initiated actions in most areas. The Calgary office of the Provincial Welfare Department, established in 1945-46, suggests the relatively late establishment of a broader governmental attack on poverty. The success of the United Fund,

which was the successor to the Community Chest, indicated that the private charitable movement in Calgary was by far the most significant. Also, many of the churches and various religious organizations became very much involved in relief programs--although these programs were similar to the other private programs in that they were supportive programs as opposed to preventive programs. The Catholic Family Service organization was established in 1957; a Jewish Family Service organization was established sometime thereafter, and the other religious organizations established their respective programs with respect to the indigent members of their adherents. Some of the organizations and agencies that were concerned with social problem areas did make some attempts at going beyond the purely supportive functions and began to work in the area of counselling. Agencies such as the Family Service agencies, both the private and the Catholic, and the Y.W.C.A., are included in a number of agencies which began to look at other aspects of problem families. The later development (after the 1950's) of agencies concerned with problems of people living in cities, strongly suggested that the populations needing services were becoming more differentiated and there was gradually a loss of a comprehensive view of the problems of indigency and social and psychological deprivation. An organization, such as the Calgary Indian Friendship Centre, established around 1964, was initiated specifically for services in assisting Indians in the adjustment from reservation to city life.

The foregoing material presents a very brief and sketchy synopsis of some of the developments in the area of social welfare and social services in Calgary and the relevance of certain provincial and federal legislation pertaining thereto. There is little doubt that as the city progressed, the problems related to city life multiplied probably much faster than the increase in the number of private and public organizations. The main trend has been toward the development of organizations which are specific to certain populations, and a movement away from a total community concern which characterized the earlier few decades in the development of Calgary--similar to the development of urban areas throughout North America. There is some indication of a beginning of awareness of a more comprehensive attack on the problems of social and economic deprivation. The attack has been spearheaded by at least two organizations in the city of Calgary. One, the Social Planning

Council of Calgary, initiated action to bring about co-ordinated efforts in social services generally. Another, the Victoria Area Project, is a co-operative effort to assist in the alleviation of problems in one of the communities in Calgary which has manifested a number of symptoms of economic and social deprivation. So far, however, these organizations are extremely limited by funds, and in view of this are seriously entertaining the use of either federal or provincial funds to assist in further growth. The Victoria Area Project is quite similar in many ways to the community action programs which have been under way in the United States for the past five or six years. It is an organization which began as a private cooperative effort, with a number of contributing organizations, but it is different from the community action programs in the States--where a greater degree of cooperation between the community action program and the local government (as well as other levels of government) has been achieved.

In the last few years there have been very significant developments in public policy and legislation which bear very directly on problems of poverty. The Manpower Mobility Program; the Technical and Vocational Training Program; and the National Rehabilitation Program, for example, are to be expanded and improved in cooperation with provincial governments. The National Employment Service has been transferred to the new Department of Manpower and Immigration. Its staff is to be strengthened and expanded in a wide-ranging program of rural community development that is currently under way through A.R.D.A. The Canadian version of the American Vista, the Company of Young Canadians, also is very much concerned with becoming involved in community action programs and rehabilitation services throughout Canada. The Canada Assistance Plan now being developed is intended to consolidate and integrate what were previously isolated programs and to place more emphasis on rehabilitation and the prevention of dependency. In addition to this, the legislation of the Canada Pension Plan reflects again the increased governmental intervention in the area of social services and public welfare. In Alberta the provincial government has taken advantage of federal legislation with respect to vocational and technical training, and has provided more support for the development of vocational schools. In addition, the provincial government has appointed a commission to review the need for preventive

health services in the province and a report is expected in 1967. The province of Alberta has provided financing for the construction of Senior Citizen's Homes in 50 communities in the province. Also, through the Department of Public Welfare, rehabilitation programs have been made an integral part of public assistance programs, and preventive welfare legislation with an appropriation of \$400,000.00, has been introduced in the legislature.

Public intervention has accelerated in recent years, and there is a good possibility that public intervention will increase in the future. This is again similar to the development of cities throughout North America where many of the private organizations and agencies have been either reinforced or replaced through public intervention. Although there is a great deal of resistance to what some people label as a "welfare state," there is little doubt that the social factors involved in the development of urban communities necessitate a greater emphasis on governments. These social factors include, firstly, the development of different socioeconomic strata in urban areas, the development of differences among various ethnic groups in urban communities through migration patterns, and of course the development of more segregationist kinds of residential patterns among various groups in the expanding cities. The local community therefore becomes a mosaic of a number of relatively separated communities, and a community effort in solving social problems is no longer as spontaneous and successful as it can be in the small village or rural town.

Calgary, however, is in a very fortunate position, as the various schisms that were mentioned have not had an opportunity to develop as fully as they have in some of the older industrial cities in North America. Thus, the beginning of an awareness for the need of comprehensive and coordinated programs, such as the Victoria Area Project, brings some hope for a combined effort between private and public efforts in the area of social services and public welfare. It is therefore important that any new preventive welfare legislation considers the existing state of affairs with respect to the various roles being played by private agencies, and also certain trends toward combined efforts between private agencies to meet more comprehensive programs. It would also be very desirable to consider the possibility of providing some re-

search assistance to organizations such as the Victoria Area Project in the hope that the programs can be evaluated, and can thus provide some clues as to what kinds of programs promise to be most effective in future legislation. The Social Planning Council of Calgary has in its possession a great wealth of information bearing on current trends in both private and public participation in community development programs. It is also important that new legislation considers the changing face of Calgary which will be brought about by urban renewal, and its many possible impacts on the distribution of social problems and, of course, the quality of housing throughout various sections of the city.

In sum, the city of Calgary presents a relatively favorable environment for the merger between the private and the public. There is no reason to expect as much opposition to this merger in Calgary as there has been in other older industrial cities--where the establishment and entrenchment of various private and public interest groups have led to intolerable conflicts with respect to the extension and effectiveness of community action programs.

Following is a description of two organizations in the city of Calgary which are concerned with preventive welfare measures and the establishment of decentralized community approaches to the problems of poverty:

The Victoria Area Project

The Victoria Area Project is a recent development, involving co-operation between the Y. W. C. A., the Catholic Family Service, the Junior League, Catholic Charities, and the Council of Jewish Women. In operation for about four years, the Victoria Area Project is located in the community of Victoria Park, one of the socioeconomically-depressed neighborhoods in the city. The program includes a pre-school program for five-year-olds; social, educational and recreational group work for girls; family and youth counselling. The Victoria Area Project envisages that its future development will include facilities for a "drop-in" activity, and a recreational program each day after school, early evenings and Saturdays. Future development will also include a teen-age study program, with study rooms under University student supervision, a Ladies' Day Out program, with nursery facilities, a study group for mothers of young children, a teen-age coeducational social program, a day camp for boys and girls during the summer, a

day-care nursery for mothers of children who are the sole supporters of their families, and an emphasis on work with the emerging Indian population of the area.

The Calgary Social Development Board

This is a development initiated by the Calgary Social Planning Council. A number of local organizations and agencies have provided representatives to the Social Development Board and there appears to be considerable agreement about the need to plan for and coordinate the various programs pertaining to social welfare. The Social Development Board has adopted a proposal by the city of Calgary to establish a Social Service Committee whose purpose would be the following: (a) to facilitate the social service programs for which government funds are, or will be, provided directly or indirectly; (b) to coordinate the provision of services provided through such funds; and (c) to formulate policies for changes in services, utilizing whatever research facilities, either public or private, that are available. Representatives to the Social Service Committee include the following: two aldermen and nine citizens who shall be recommended for one-year appointments from the nominees of the Social Planning Council; the United Fund; the Public and Separate School Boards; the University of Calgary; the Inter-faith Social Action Committee; the Association of Social Workers; and related agencies and professional associations actively concerned with services in the fields of health, recreation, and welfare. This organization has also realized that in order to be effective it must work in cooperation with City Council which has the sole responsibility for applying for and initiating preventive social welfare programs, under the new provincial legislation.

CHAPTER II

THE MAGNITUDE AND DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN CALGARY

Calgary is similar in many ways to other medium-to-large cities in North America, but it is also different in many important respects. This section of the report will talk about some of the similarities with respect to the distribution of social problems, and also will deal with some of the unique aspects of Calgary.

The similarity between Calgary and average cities in North America is that there is a tendency for concentration of social problems and the indigent population near the central city core. In Calgary, several of these kinds of neighborhood communities have been identified as constituting problem areas. The tendency toward concentration of problems of poverty toward central city cores is attributable predominantly to the exodus of "upward-moving" city dwellers to areas which are further removed from the downtown areas, an exodus which has become accelerated since the Second World War. It is thus a situation whereby the central areas become more homogeneous with respect to increasing proportion of people who are unable to afford the more costly houses which are removed some distance from the core. In addition to this, the area which surrounds central cores in most North American cities is an area which has been called (by some of the earlier students of urban-sociology) the "zone in transition." The zone in transition has been characterized as an area where there is a great deal of mixed land use and very high percentage of absentee landlordship. In addition, the zone in transition has been considered as the immigrant-landing zone, where most new migrants to cities reside, and continue to reside until their competitive position becomes more favorable in time. The land values then are very much related to the transitional aspects of this area; i. e., there is very small investment on the part of absentee owners--the motivation being to maximize one's investment return in the event of renewal. The anticipation of renewal, of course, is very closely related to the urban-renewal activities which have accelerated in North America in the past decade. It is also quite probable that the housing which is located near the central core

is older housing, relatively more in need of rehabilitation or, in some cases, demolition. Older, central communities are also characterized by more social problems. Many of these problems are related to the increased isolation of residents of central communities, and decreased communication with members of other neighborhoods in the city. Largely because of the lack of opportunities, which result from the relative isolation of centralized populations, the educational system has not been up to standards of the newer schools being built in the newer residential developments. In addition to this, there has been the development of "relative deprivation"; the feeling of "standing still" while other people move up the success ladder. Some individuals, because of isolation and limited opportunities in a relatively affluent community, frequently turn to "illegitimate" (illegal) means to accomplish the goals of material acquisition. This is a concept which will be more fully elaborated in the concluding section of the report.

Calgary differs from many other urban centres in the sense that there is a "leap-frog" pattern to the distribution of problems in the community. Not only are there problem areas located near the central core (some of which are due for massive physical change under the City Urban Renewal Plan within the next few years) but also the development of problem areas extends relatively far out into the community--compared to other North American centres. It is also interesting to note that many of these problem areas cannot be easily identified as problem areas if one relies only on physical appearance. It appears that many of these communities are relatively physically attractive communities where problems of deterioration are not obvious. Calgary is therefore instructive in the sense that one is warned against engaging in very hazardous speculation in attempting to correlate physical deterioration with social or psychological disorganization. It is probable that the more scattered picture of the distribution of social problems in Calgary is attributable, at least partly, to the relative absence of very severe segregation policies in the development of Calgary, compared to older, industrial centres, where restrictive covenants have for many years been employed to determine residential patterns. It would also appear that the emergence of social problems, such as delinquency and adult criminality, in some of these non-central areas in Calgary, would suggest that social controls exercised by

agencies such as the family, the peer group, and the immediate neighborhood, have deteriorated much more rapidly through urbanization than has been the case of some of the older urban communities--where increasing city settlement was more of a continuous and gradual process. Additional factors which relate to the dispersed picture of the distribution of social problems in Calgary can also be mentioned. For example, some of the areas which are now part of Calgary were formerly separate communities, which were affected by economic stagnation prior to annexation.*

The Relative Condition of Economic Deprivation in Alberta and Calgary

One way to view problems of deprivation is to compare the problems in a particular area with other areas and with the general picture of the combined areas together. According to a recent report by the Special Planning Secretariat,¹ Alberta stands in a relatively favorable position compared to¹³ other provinces, with respect to the distribution of family income groups. In Alberta, 79 per cent of families are in the category of over \$3,000 family income. This compares to 77 per cent of families over \$3,000 income for Canada generally, and 82 per cent of families over \$3,000 in Ontario, 79 per cent in British Columbia, 76 per cent in Manitoba, and 55 per cent in Prince Edward Island. With respect to family income under marginal levels, the province does not compare quite as favorably but it is far from being in the worst situation. In Canada generally, 13 per cent of families are earning under \$2,000 and 4 per cent under \$1,000. In Alberta, 12 per cent of families are earning under \$2,000 and 5 per cent under \$1,000. Examples of low income in other provinces follow: in Ontario 9 per cent of families are earning under \$2,000 and 3 per cent under \$1,000, a situation more favorable than that in Alberta. However, in comparing Alberta with Prince Edward Island, we observe that 26 per cent of families in Prince Edward Island are earning under \$2,000 and 8 per cent under \$1,000. The situation is worse in Newfoundland, where 33 per cent of families are earning under \$2,000 and 11 per cent of families under \$1,000.

Another aspect of the extent of economic and social deprivation is that of the distribution of infant mortality rates throughout Canada. There

*Including Bowness, Forest Lawn and Montgomery.

is a very close correlation between infant mortality rates and income levels, with infant mortality rates decreasing with increases in income levels. According to the Special Planning Secretariat report, Alberta stands third in lowest infant mortality rate in Canada. Ontario has the lowest infant mortality rate (23.5) and a per capita income of \$1,807.* British Columbia has the second lowest infant mortality rate (24.4) and a per capita income of \$1,786. Alberta has an infant mortality rate of 25.7 and a per capita income of \$1,570. The relationship between infant mortality rate and per capita income is continuous for the rest of the provinces; e.g., Saskatchewan has an infant mortality rate of 26.1 and a per capita income of \$1,520; Nova Scotia has an infant mortality rate of 29.4 and a per capita income of \$1,311; Quebec has an infant mortality rate of 31.6 and a per capita income of \$1,311; Newfoundland has an infant mortality rate of 37.5 and a per capita income of \$874. With respect, then, to the general distribution of income, and the incidence of infant mortality, Alberta is in a relatively favorable situation compared to the other provinces, but far from the ideal situation of an even lower infant mortality rate. The figures presented merely indicate that Alberta is in a relatively better position for the launching of preventive welfare programs whereas in most of the other provinces, problems of poverty have become more firmly entrenched, probably over a longer period of time, particularly in eastern Canada.

The Scope of Poverty in Urban Alberta

Barbara Scott, in a recent report,² states that "one family in every six in Alberta's cities lacks sufficient income to acquire the necessities of life. These families living in poverty, on less than \$3,000 a year, number nearly 34,000 and represent an estimated 124,000 individual men, women, and children." Furthermore ". . . an additional 28,000 families (about 105,000 individuals) live above the poverty line, but lack the income to purchase the kinds and amounts of goods and services that are predominant in our society today. Living on \$3,000 to \$4,000 a year, such families are deprived in terms of what the rest of us enjoy, and likely in terms of a sense of personal worth." Miss Scott goes on to suggest that, "Still more bleak is the picture of unattached individuals in Alberta cities--two in every five live

below the point of poverty (on less than \$1,500 a year) and nearly one-half live below the point of deprivation."

The foregoing profile of some aspects of poverty in Alberta is based on a definition of poverty and deprivation related exclusively to income levels. Poverty, in the above report, was considered as less than \$3,000 for a family of four, and deprivation was considered as less than \$4,000 total income for a family of four. Poverty for persons not in families was defined as less than \$2,000 income, and of deprivation--less than \$1,500 income. Miss Scott also mentions some consequences of economic deprivation. In comparing the condition of dwellings of various income groups, she observed that the condition of dwelling was good in about 63 per cent of families earning under \$3,000 but in 84 per cent of families earning \$4,000 or more. Condition of housing was considered as very poor in 9 per cent of families earning under \$3,000, but in only 2 1/2 per cent of families earning \$4,000 or more. The groups that are overly represented in the category of under \$4,000 family income, include the elderly (similar to other parts of North America) and the non-white population consisting of Indians, Eskimos and other non-white groups. There is also an over-concentration of families under the "poverty line" where the male head has had very low educational attainment.

In reviewing these very limited statistics of the profile of poverty in Alberta, it becomes more clear that, while Alberta compares favorably with most of the other provinces, the magnitude of the problems of economic deprivation in Alberta is certainly quite great, with about 20 per cent of individuals in the province (urban areas) facing problems of relatively severe economic deprivation.

It is of course important to bear in mind that the definition of poverty strictly in economic terms can present only a very general picture with many weaknesses and distortions. Especially in the United States it has been realized that factors such as specific family size, type of community, degree of social-psychological isolation, and general social definitions of "good" and "deprived" ways of life, can drastically alter the concept of poverty.³ There are doubtless also many cases of affluent individuals and families where chronic budgeting and crisis problems bring about poverty conditions.

A Closer Look at Calgary

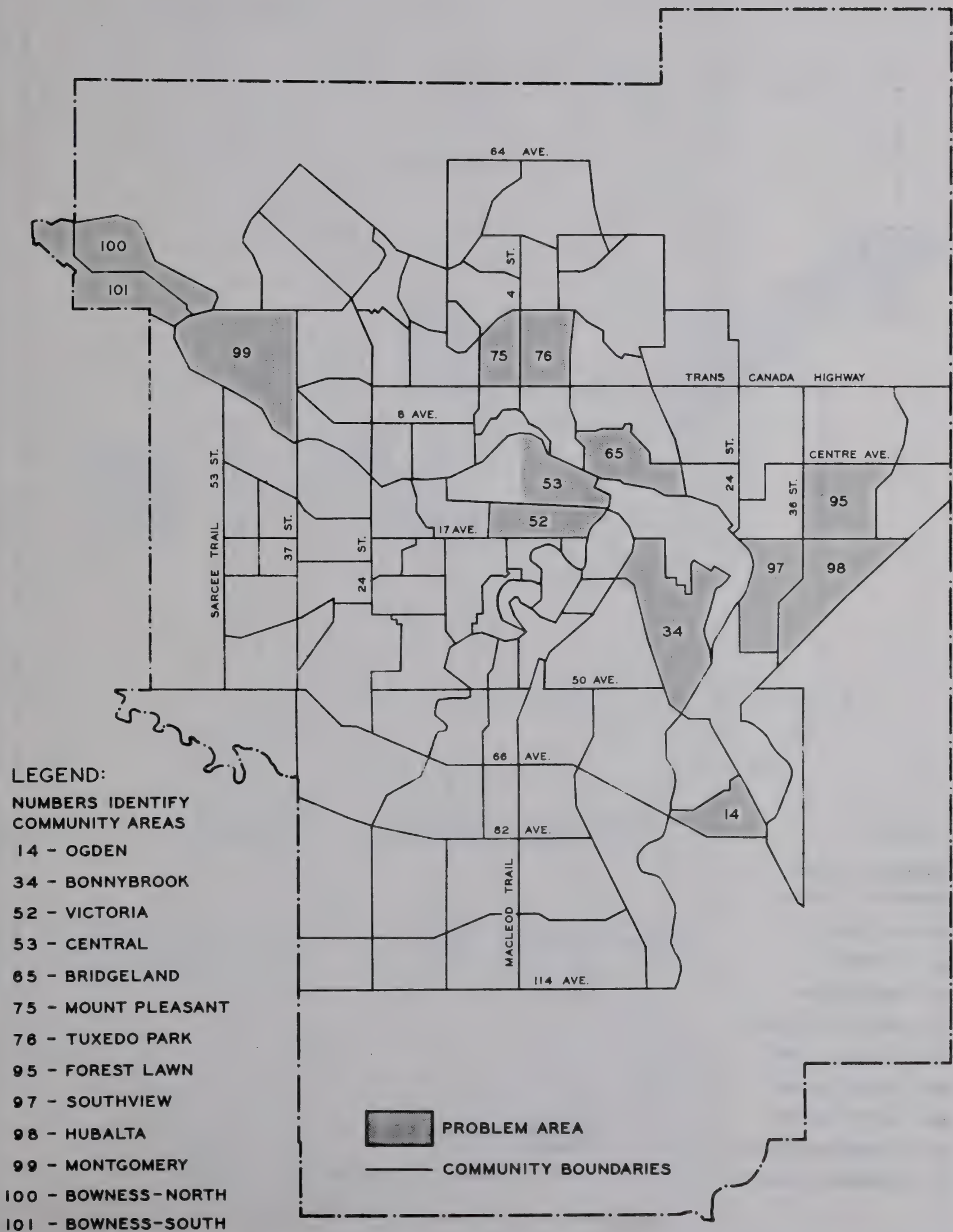
A number of reports of various agencies and people in Calgary were examined to discover the geographical distribution of economic problems and related social deterioration. The distribution of various indices of physical and social deterioration is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

The location of the priority problem areas was based on both reports of agencies such as the Calgary City Planning Office and an analysis of 1961 census data done in the present study. The analysis of the census data consisted of looking at the distribution of the following five factors:

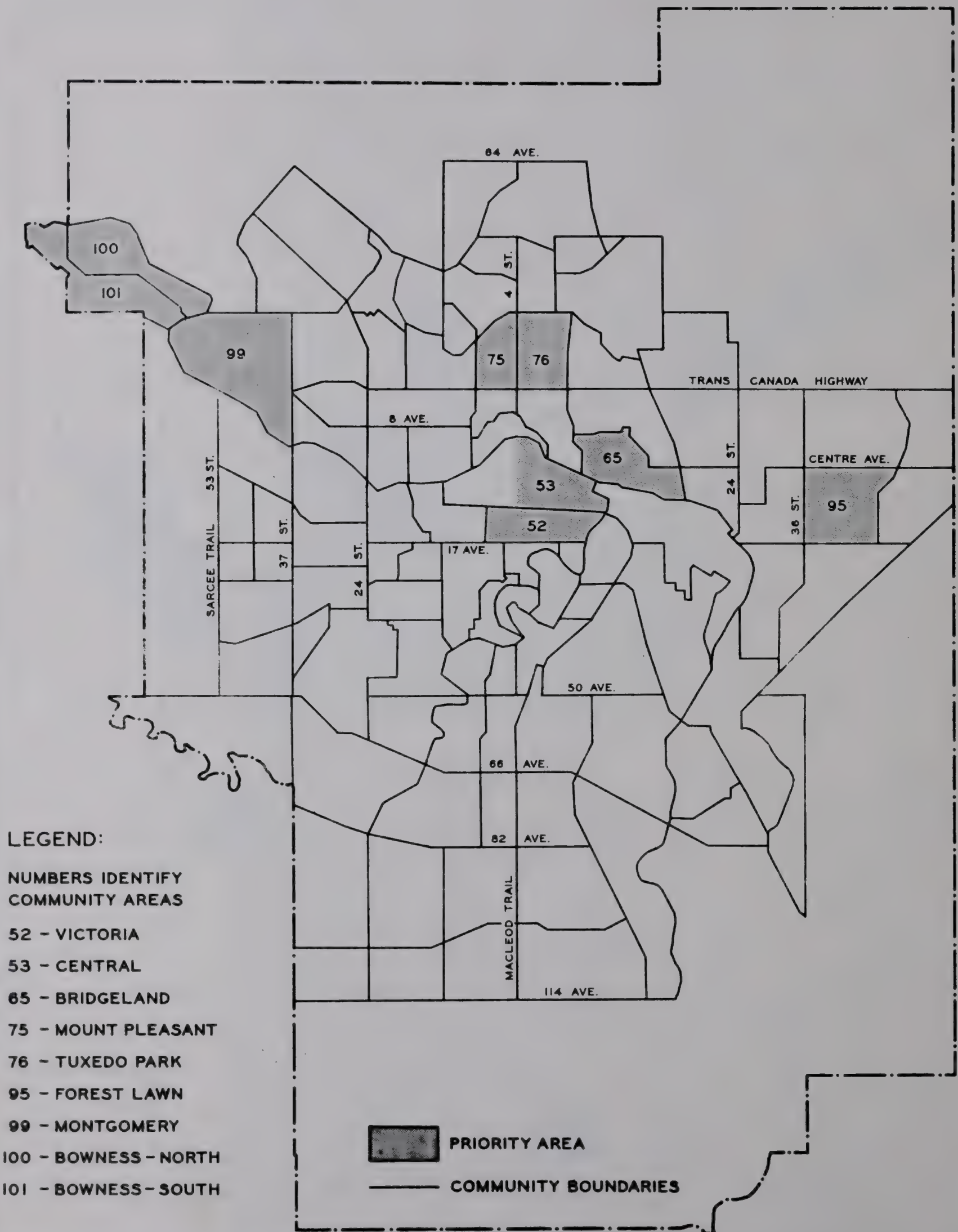
1. Average income (males).
2. Buildings in need of major repair.
3. Percentage of people looking for work (unemployed).
4. Percentage of population (mostly adult) not attending school--
with less than high school education.
5. Percentage of laborers (unskilled).

Each of these factors was first examined separately and then a composite index was constructed in order to derive a ranking system which would suggest the relative severity in the distribution of problems. The individual factors are reported in Tables 3 through 7, and the composite ranking is reported in Table 8. High ranks are assigned to areas which show the least favorable standing.

PROBLEM AREAS CALGARY: 1966



PROBABLE PRIORITY AREAS CALGARY: 1966



CHAPTER II - TABLE 1.

CALGARY AREAS WHICH HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS HAVING ONE
OR A COMBINATION OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC,
AND PHYSICAL DETERIORATION PROBLEMS

(In Alphabetical Order)

Area	Economic*	Problem Social**	Physical Deterioration***
Bowness	X	X	X
Bridgeland-Riverside. . . .	X	X	
Bonnybrook.			X
Downtown-East	X	X	X
Forest Lawn	X		X
Hubalta		X	
Mount Pleasant		X	
Montgomery.	X		
Ogden.			X
Southview.		X	
Tuxedo Park		X	
Victoria Park	X	X	X

*Low income, high welfare caseload.
**Juvenile delinquency and/or adult criminality.
***Poor state of housing or overcrowded housing.

Source: Several, including Social Factors Reports, Calgary City Planning Department, national census data, and reports of various agencies.*

*Including Report of the Royal Commission of the Metropolitan Development of Calgary and Edmonton, 1956, (Burness and Forest Lawn) and B. Marcuse "An Exploratory Survey of a 'Deprived' Urban Area" (Forest Lawn), 1966 (unpublished).

CHAPTER II - TABLE 2.

PROBABLE PRIORITY OF PROBLEM AREAS
WITH RESPECT TO THE NEED FOR ACTION*

Priority	Areas
1.	Calgary-East
2.	Victoria Park
3.	Bowness, Forest Lawn, Montgomery
4.	Bridgeland-Riverside
5.	Bonnybrook, Hubalta, Ogden, Southview
6.	Mount Pleasant, Tuxedo Park

*Based on two considerations: 1. present problems; 2. probability of being directly affected by urban renewal.

CHAPTER II - TABLE 3.

AVERAGE INCOME (MALES) BY AREAS

Areas	Average Income	Rank
Calgary--Average	\$4, 256.00	-
Calgary-East	2, 468.00*	1
Bowness	3, 484.00	4
Bridgeland-Riverside	3, 447.00*	3
Forest Lawn	3, 581.00	5
Montgomery	3, 402.00	2
Mount Pleasant & Tuxedo Park	3, 729.00*	6
Victoria Park	3, 402.00*	2

*These are estimates because census areas do not perfectly correspond to community boundaries.

Source: 1961 Census Report for Calgary.

It can be seen that all of the areas are considerably below the average income for the entire City.

CHAPTER II - TABLE 4.

BUILDINGS IN NEED OF MAJOR REPAIR BY AREAS

Areas	Percentage in Need of Repair	Rank
Calgary--Average	3.5%	-
Calgary-East	22.0%	1
Bowness	6.9%	3
Bridgeland-Riverside	0.0%	5
Forest Lawn	4.2%	4
Montgomery	0.0%	5
Mount Pleasant & Tuxedo Park	0.0%	5
Victoria Park	6.0%	2

*Estimates

Source: 1961 Census Report for Calgary.

Only four of the seven areas indicate greater than average problems of physical deterioration, suggesting the less than perfect relationship between physical condition of housing and social conditions.

PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE LOOKING FOR WORK
BY AREAS

Areas	Percentage Looking For Work	Rank
Calgary--Average	3.2%	-
Calgary-East	9.9%*	1
Bowness	4.7%	3
Bridgeland-Riverside	3.4%*	7
Forest Lawn	4.6%	4
Montgomery	4.2%	5
Mount Pleasant & Tuxedo Park . . .	3.8%*	6
Victoria Park	7.0%*	2

*Estimates

Source: 1961 Census Report for Calgary

All of the areas have higher than Calgary Average percentages of people unemployed, suggesting perhaps relatively great problems of under-training. This certainly seems true for the Calgary-East and Victoria Park areas, but the Bridgeland-Riverside and Mount Pleasant and Tuxedo Park areas are only slightly over the city average.

CHAPTER II - TABLE 6.

PERCENTAGE OF RESIDENTS (NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL)
WITH LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION
BY AREAS

Areas	Percentage Less Than High School	Rank
Calgary--Average	43%	-
Calgary-East.	70%*	1
Bowness	55%	3
Bridgeland-Riverside	45%*	4
Forest Lawn	61%	2
Montgomery	61%	2
Mount Pleasant & Tuxedo Park . . .	26%*	6
Victoria Park	33%*	5

*Estimates

Source: 1961 Census Report for Calgary

Most of the areas have considerably higher percentages of (mostly adult) residents who have achieved less than high school level education. The relatively low percentage in the Mount Pleasant-Tuxedo Park areas is consistent with its comparatively high standing with respect to the other factors.

The low percentage in Victoria Park, however, presents an anomalous situation insofar as this area stands relatively low with respect to the other factors. It may be that the census tract area in which Victoria Park is included extends into relatively more affluent neighborhoods in southwest Calgary. For the present, this can only remain a speculation which should be noted only in terms of the great variation in the consistency of factors supposedly measuring social and economic deprivation.

PERCENTAGE OF LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
BY AREAS

Areas	Percentage of Laborers	Rank
Calgary--Average	5.7%	-
Calgary-East	20.0%*	1
Bowness	6.8%	5
Bridgeland-Riverside	8.8%*	2
Forest Lawn	8.6%	3
Montgomery	7.5%	4
Mount Pleasant & Tuxedo Park . .	6.2%*	6
Victoria Park	7.5%*	4

*Estimates

Source: 1961 Census Report for Calgary

All of the areas have higher than average percentages of laborers among the working population, indicating problems of undertraining for the developing urban occupations.

CHAPTER II - TABLE 8.

PRIORITY RANK--ORDER OF PROBLEM AREAS (COMBINED INDEX OF FIVE FACTORS)

Ranks	Areas
1	Calgary-East
2	Victoria Park
3	Bowness, Forest Lawn, Montgomery
4	Bridgeland-Riverside
5	Mount Pleasant-Tuxedo Park

This table suggests that (based on 1961 census data) the area in greatest need of new social service programs is Calgary-East, the stage one area of Calgary's urban renewal plan. Next is Victoria Park (which presently is being affected by the coordinated services Victoria Area Project). Forest Lawn and Montgomery follow, and in both communities some city agencies are beginning to provide "detached workers" and a greater range of decentralized counselling and recreational services. These efforts, however, are just at an initial and severely limited stage and will require both public support and financial subsidy.

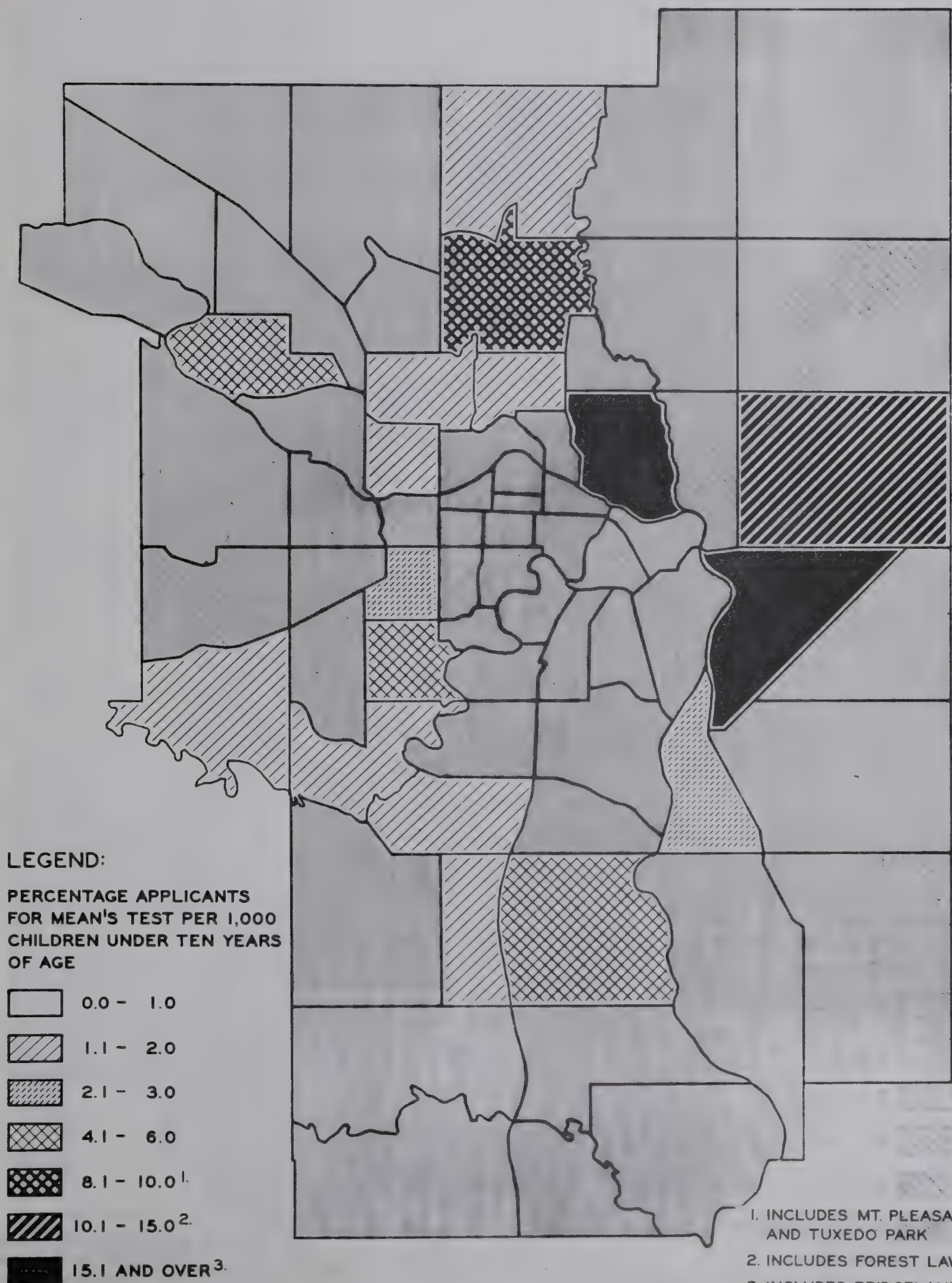
The areas of Bridgeland-Riverside and Mount Pleasant-Tuxedo Park have not appeared to be problem areas as obviously as the other communities. There is little physical deterioration in these areas which probably obscures other indications of problems. Figures 3, 4, and 5 suggest present and developing welfare and social problems in both Bridgeland-Riverside and Mount Pleasant-Tuxedo Park areas.

The foregoing figures (Figures 3-5) indicate that there are developing social problems in both the Bridgeland-Riverside, and the Mount Pleasant-Tuxedo Park communities. It may be that the relatively high reports of delinquency and child neglect are indicative of the relative newness of the areas compared to the other problem areas previously discussed. It may also be that the Bridgeland-Riverside area, for example, having a higher percentage of residents born outside of Canada, is experiencing the usual "generational problems" peculiar to areas where children are caught between the culture

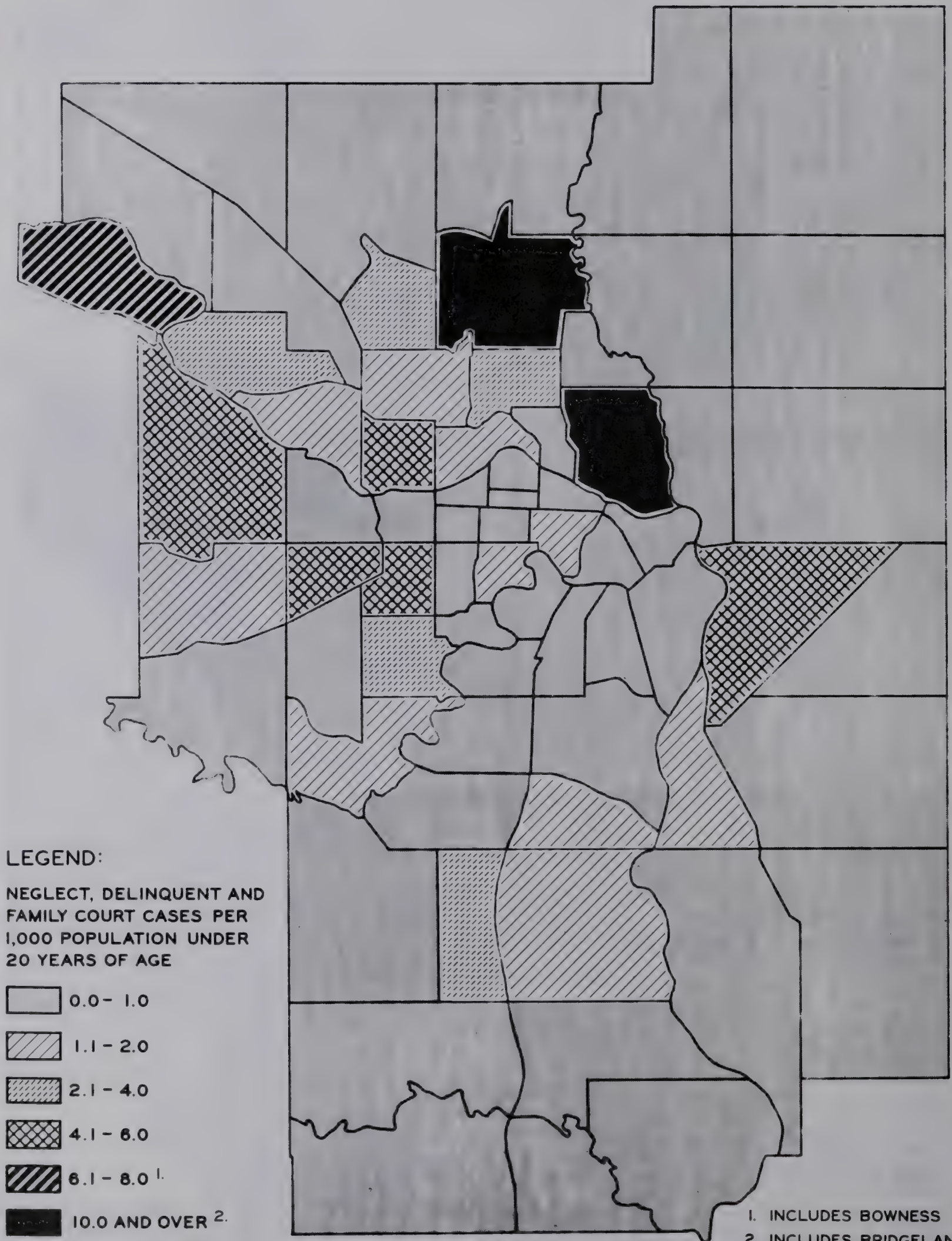
of the old and the culture of the new. One of the consequences, as in other areas, is an increase in delinquent behavior as a result of the frustrations involved in being in this marginal position. It should be borne in mind however that in most of the problem areas examined in this report the percentage of Canadian-born is as high or higher than the average for the city.* In the absence of data pertaining to the ethnic origins of apprehended delinquent offenders, however, these observations must be considered as purely speculative and further research is certainly called for. Most general areas have not indicated similarly high economic problems, and consequently are not ranked quite as highly as the other problem areas with respect to the need for future preventive and human resources development programs. The Bridgeland-Riverside area is ranked higher than the Mount Pleasant-Tuxedo Park areas because there is some indication that this area will undergo much more rapid change in the immediate future. One of the changes will probably come from the displaced individuals after the urban renewal program begins in Calgary. The Bridgeland-Riverside area is a "natural" area of transition leading from the city centre to surrounding communities. It is thus quite likely that the population characteristics may change quite rapidly in the future and there may be conflicts engendered by this change. It is thus important to consider this area as one requiring immediate attention, including further study and possibly the provision of detached workers who would be on the scene to be able to evaluate these changes on a day-to-day basis. Also in this area, as is previously indicated in Table 6, there is a very high percentage of unskilled members of the working force, and consequently a problem of undertraining for developing urban occupations. There is little doubt, therefore, that Bridgeland-Riverside (and possibly including the Renfrew area to the north) must be included in new programs dealing not only with total community action but more specifically with training and vocational rehabilitation programs.

*It is known that the native-born in both Canada and the United States generally have higher rates of delinquency and adult criminality than do immigrants.

MEAN'S TEST APPLICANTS BY TRANSPORTATION DISTRICT, CALGARY

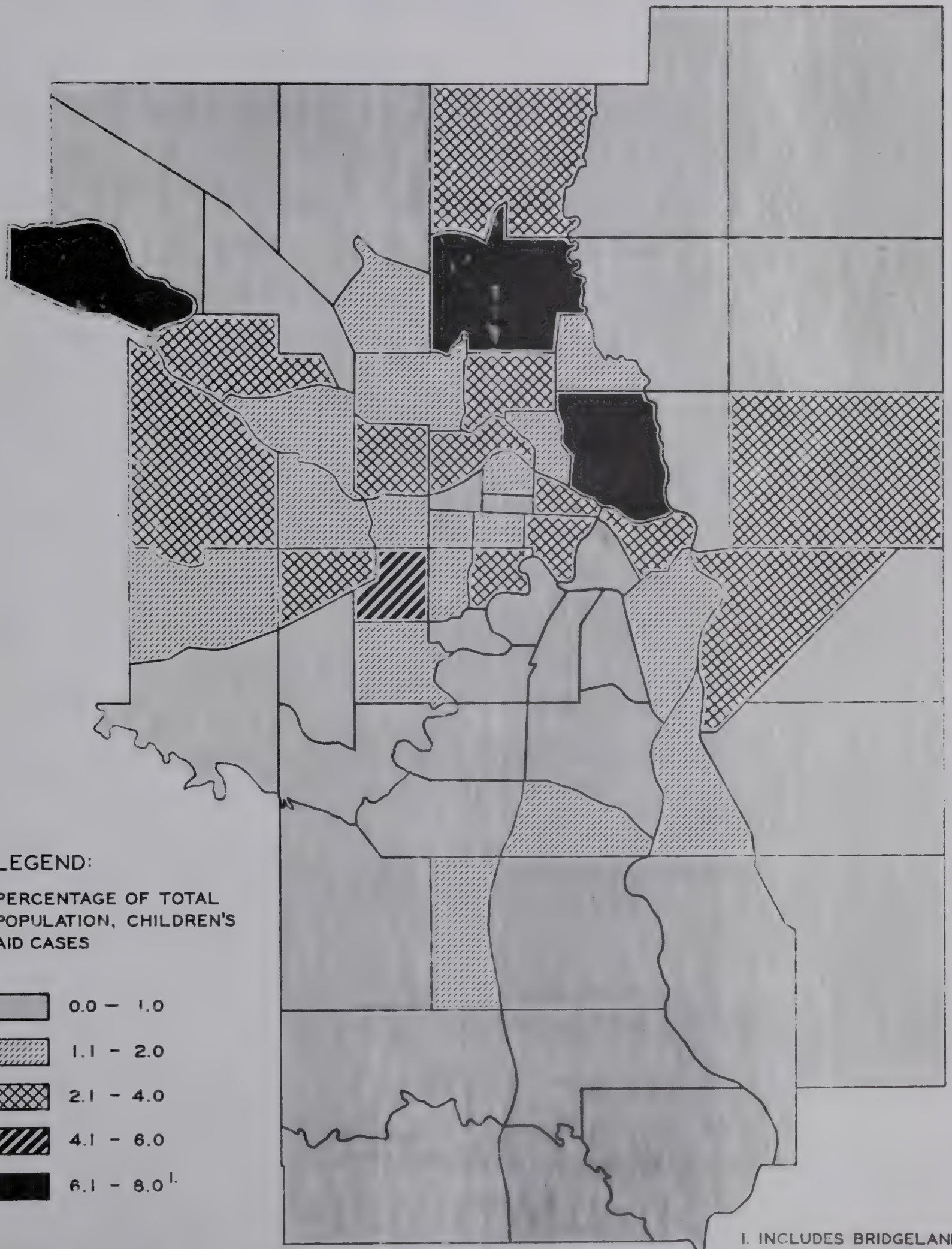


CHILDREN'S AID CASE RATES BY TRANSPORTATION DISTRICT, CALGARY



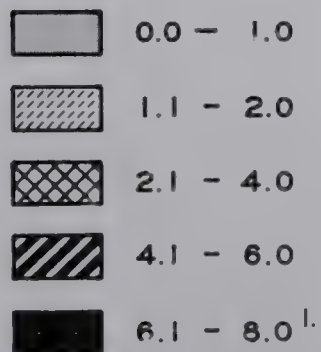
1. INCLUDES BOWNESS
2. INCLUDES BRIDGELAND-
RIVERSIDE, MT. PLEASANT
AND TUXEDO PARK

CHILDREN'S AID CASES BY TRANSPORTATION DISTRICT, CALGARY



LEGEND:

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION, CHILDREN'S
AID CASES



NOTE: TOTAL CASE LOAD - 1,399
NO MINOR OFFENSES OR SHORT TERM INTAKES INCLUDED.

1. INCLUDES BRIDGELAND -
RIVERSIDE, MT. PLEASANT,
TUXEDO PARK AND
BOWNESS

The evidence pertaining to the problems existing in the Mount Pleasant and Tuxedo Park areas is not quite so clear-cut and it is therefore proposed that further study be undertaken, perhaps in the early months of the New Year, to obtain a clear picture of how these areas compare to the other problem areas which have been more extensively examined.

Profiles of the Problem Areas

The more central and older communities: Calgary-East and Victoria Park.

Both Calgary-East and Victoria Park are old communities compared to other areas of the city. The Calgary-East area is the oldest central area adjacent to the commercial activities of the city centre, and it is similar in many ways to central communities in other cities. For example, there is a high degree of physical deterioration, a high degree of population mobility and transiency, and a relatively high proportion of under-educated and under-skilled residents. In addition to this there is a disproportionately high elderly population, part of which have resided in the area for a long period of time and have retired with limited economic resources. There is also a great deal of mixed land use which reflects the highly-transitional nature of this area. Calgary-East is considered as the first stage in the Calgary Urban Renewal Program and it will undergo very extensive physical and social change within the next two years. A separate study of the area, concentrating on the transient population, is now under way and the report will probably be submitted within the next few months. The City Planning Department is also concerned with the provision of alternative housing, including the construction of public housing in sites elsewhere in the city. The greatest need with respect to this area is to provide more research subsidy to evaluate further the kinds of stresses that residents will face as they are gradually displaced through physical reconstruction. Very few follow-up studies have been conducted in urban renewal areas in North America and this is where one of the most urgent research problems lies. It is therefore desirable to become aware of where displaced individuals will go to, and to provide as much of a follow-up service to these individuals as possible in order to assure a reasonably good adjustment to their new environments. Another pressing need with respect to the central core is the encouragement of a "half-way-

house" in order to provide counselling services and rehabilitation programs for the transient population. Sentiment in the city of Calgary in favor of this kind of approach is very favorable, and it is recommended that the province consider as much financial aid to the program as it possibly can.

The Victoria Park area is an area which was established with the growth of the C.P.R. It is located to the south of the railroad and extending to the present Stampede Corral Grounds. The area was originally populated, apparently, by C.P.R. employees, many of whom are now retired. The area, although quite attractive, is in need of considerable physical rehabilitation (not destruction as has been the case in so many other cities). The area has been mostly a stable area with long-term residents who have established roots and who have also established a community spirit which is quite dynamic compared to probably most areas of Calgary. One of the problems of the area is that it is rapidly undergoing a period of transition. First, there is evidence that many people from other countries have tended to concentrate in the area because of the availability of relatively inexpensive housing, and also accessibility to the occupations and services of the city. Thus values and behavioral patterns which are unfamiliar to the older residents have been introduced to the area, and have apparently caused some confusion and some hostility on the part of the older residents. Another more recent pattern is the emigration of Indians from the surrounding reservations. Again, there is some evidence that the older residents are experiencing some anxiety because of their lack of knowledge of the Indians, and also because of feeling threatened economically and residentially by the increasing numbers of Indians residing in the area. In addition to this the Victoria Park residents generally have felt relatively helpless with respect to how the area is going to be affected by urban renewal plans. For example, the Stampede Board of Calgary announced plans to expand the Stampede Grounds without consultation with the residents. As a result, a resident organization has been formed and it is presently demanding more information about the fate of the area as well as representation on decision-making committees. In the author's opinion, this area should be retained as much as possible as an on-going community, with the provision of decentralized training and rehabilitation programs, as well as the whole range of programs that are usually included in community-

action programs (such as the present Victoria Area Project). There is also a pressing need for the provision of, at the very least, information about educational and economic and residential opportunities existing in the city of Calgary. This information is especially needed by new residents of the area, especially those from rural backgrounds and also those from other countries, and in addition by Indians who are recently off the reservation and are frequently uninformed and lost with respect to city life.

The annexed problem area communities: Bowness, Forest Lawn and Montgomery.

These areas, incorporated in the late 1950s and the 1960s, have in common a heritage of economic problems. The areas, prior to annexation, have all gone through very rapid change in land use, beginning with provision of homestead land, and ending with the failure of real estate land speculations. The Forest Lawn and Bowness areas, for example, were restored to "agricultural use" after the failure of some of the later economic adventures, but obviously the general decrease in the fortunes of individual farming enterprises in the province, has affected these areas quite negatively. None of the areas has developed any significant industries or commercial enterprises to sustain economic stability or economic growth. Consequently municipal services, prior to annexation, were quite negligible, and there was considerable physical deterioration because the land was made available very, very cheaply, in the last couple of decades; many individuals with limited economic means migrated to the areas and were unable to manage much more than a marginal existence. Annexation of the areas was considered as essential for their economic survival. The city of Calgary, therefore, has "inherited" these three problem communities which have added, of course, to the economic burdens of the city. It is important to realize that these three areas deserve immediate attention with respect to, again, the provision of decentralized services, including employment and rehabilitation and training. Moreover, because many of the residents of the areas have been long-term residents, it is important to provide some vehicle for their gradual social integration with the rest of the community. There is some evidence in the Bowness area, for example, that the older residents feel very much alienated simply because they had some misgivings about

being annexed into the larger Calgary community. It is therefore necessary to involve these older residents in any future human development programs.

The other communities: Hubalta, Southview, Bonnybrook, Ogden.

These areas have not been sufficiently studied in order to come to clear-cut conclusions about their present and future development. The Ogden and Bonnybrook areas are located in the south industrial estate of Calgary and there is little doubt that the houses have undergone considerable physical decline. There is also some limited evidence indicating that the proportion of social welfare cases is relatively high in both areas. Without further information, however, there can be no conclusions presented here with respect to these areas except the suggestion that more study be encouraged as early as possible. Similarly, the Hubalta and Southview areas, have not been sufficiently studied. They also have apparently high rates of welfare cases and it is again necessary to follow-up with more intensive studies. The census data do not correspond closely enough to these communities in order to do a reasonably good kind of social and economic analysis at this time.

ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER II

Distribution of Provincial Welfare Cases and Revised Priority Table

Following the compilation of data presented in the foregoing section, an analysis of the composition and distribution of provincial welfare cases was undertaken. Approximately one percent of the total number of welfare cases was sampled by systematic selection, resulting in a total sample of 221 files.

In this addendum the distribution of these cases will be considered and the composition of the cases will be reported in the Addendum to Chapter III.

In some respects these data are consistent with the data already presented; there is a strikingly high concentration of provincial welfare caseloads in some of the "priority" areas discussed. There are, however, sufficient deviations to merit caution in the analysis of "priority." According to an evaluation of the total data, however, there can be little doubt that Calgary-East (the large part of central Calgary), Victoria Park, and Bridge-land-Riverside show up quite clearly as economic problem areas. As shown in Table 8-a these areas together make up about eight percent of the total Calgary population, but almost thirty percent of the provincial welfare caseload.

Other areas which were earlier considered as economic problem areas do not show up very clearly according to these data. Montgomery, Forest Lawn, Tuxedo Park, and Mount Pleasant are all under-represented in the sense that their proportionate populations are greater than their proportionate provincial welfare caseload. Bowness is about equally represented in both respects. It should be noted that there are several areas not considered before which are relatively highly represented with respect to provincial welfare caseloads.

APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE OF CALGARY POPULATION
AND PERCENTAGE OF PROVINCIAL WELFARE CASELOAD
FOR SELECTED CALGARY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Approximate % of Calgary population	Approximate % of welfare cases
Calgary-Central (including Calgary-East)	2.4	10.1
Victoria Park	3.0	13.1
Bridgeland-Riverside	2.1	4.5
Inglewood	1.2	2.7
Sunalta	2.0	3.1
Mission	1.6	2.7
Renfrew	2.7	2.7
Bowness	3.5	3.1
Montgomery	3.9	1.8
Tuxedo Park	2.0	1.0
Forest Lawn	3.9	1.3

These data serve only as partial indicators of economic problems and are presented only to give a more comprehensive view of the economic problem areas in Calgary. The partial lack of consistency between these data and those previously discussed suggests a reappraisal of the "priority" list presented by Chapter II, Table 2. On the basis of both sets of data, the tentative and approximate priorities are rearranged as follows:

CHAPTER II - TABLE 8-b.

Revised Probable Priority of Problem Areas

(See Table 2)

Priority	Areas
1	Calgary-Central (including Calgary-East)
2	Victoria Park
3	Bridgeland-Riverside
4	Bowness
5	Montgomery, Forest Lawn
6	Hubalta, Southview, Inglewood, Renfrew
7	Tuxedo Park
8	Mount Pleasant

This revision cannot be considered as completely accurate and final.

A much more elaborate analysis of additional data would be required to construct indices of priority. The above data should be considered only as approximations of present conditions and relative severity of economic deprivation.

FOOTNOTES

¹Profile of Poverty in Canada, Special Planning Secretariat, 1965 (mimeo).
²Barbara Scott (Edmonton Welfare Council Research Department), Alberta's Poor, July, 1966 (mimeo).
³See the various approaches presented in M.S. Gordon (editor), Poverty In America, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965.

CHAPTER III

THE FINDINGS OF THE INTERVIEW SURVEY

METHODOLOGY

Three communities were chosen for the survey; Victoria Park, Bridgeland-Riverside, and Inglewood. All three are located relatively near to the city centre but differ with respect to severity of economic and social problems. The Victoria Park community ranks highest in "action priority" and the Bridgeland-Riverside area is second. The Inglewood community, however, does not appear to be so directly affected by social and economic deprivation, and thus serves as a useful comparison group in order to examine factors which distinguish differences between communities which are located in close geographical proximity.

The other communities which have been discussed as "problem areas" (see Chapter II) were not selected for the interview study simply because a very extensive sample would not allow meaningful comparisons and not enough information would be derived about all aspects of community life. A smaller number of communities--but a greater number of respondents--were considered as more important than obtaining merely surface data about many people in many communities.

Another reason for the limited selection is that the three communities will probably be more directly affected by urban renewal and thus require more immediate attention. Moreover, it was considered that if certain indices were discovered to be related to the development of social and economic deprivation in the three communities studied, the manifestation of these indices in other problem communities in Calgary might suggest that similar forces are present.

The three communities of Victoria Park, Bridgeland-Riverside, and Inglewood, are shown on the map below. (Figure 1)

It was decided that the best method of selecting respondents for the survey was to select households at random according to tax-roll numbers which were provided by the City of Calgary. Random selection simply involves a process whereby every unit in the sample area has an equal chance of being selected for the study. Thus, every household unit in the three com-

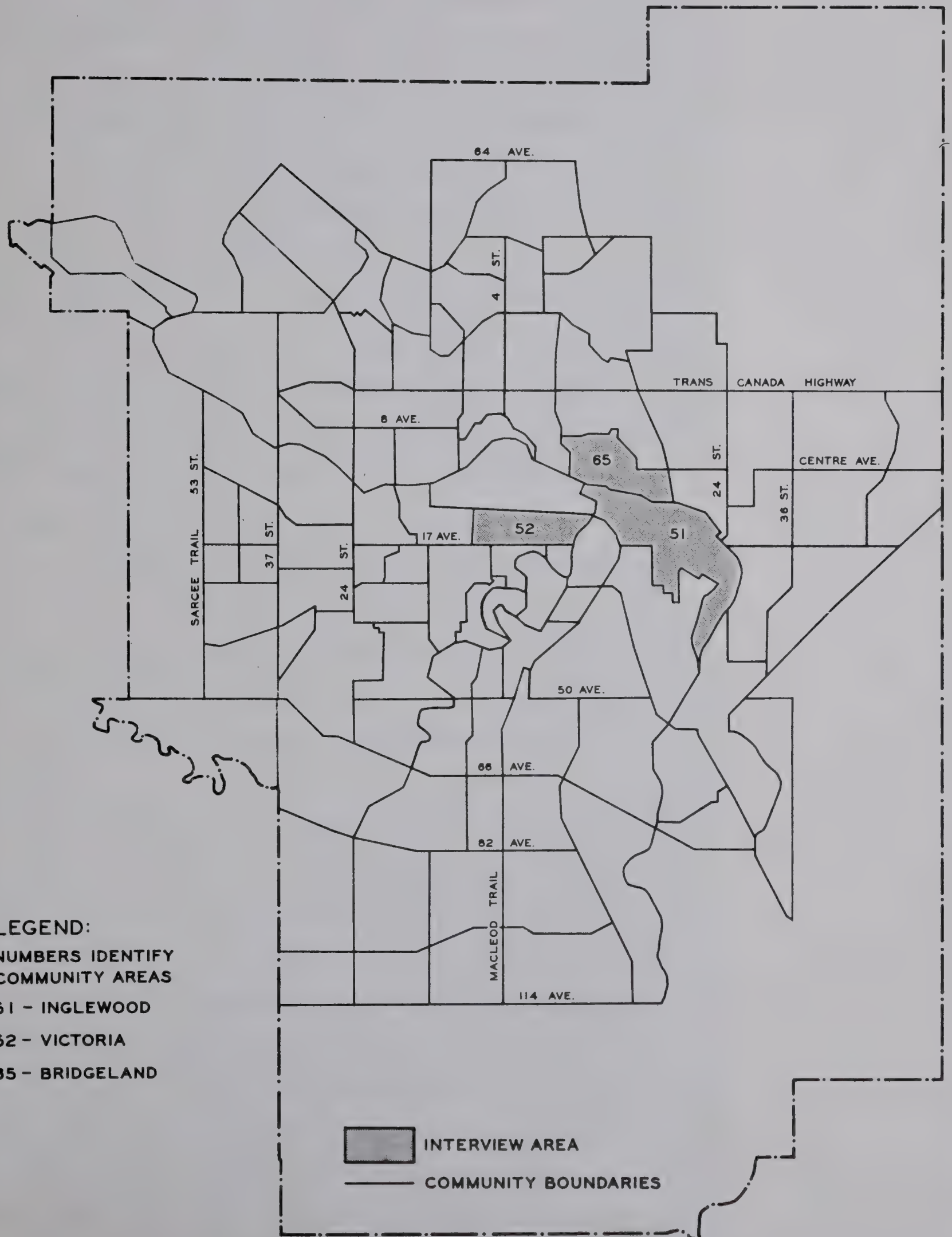
munities had an equal chance of being drawn in the sample selection, thus maximizing the possibility that the household units would be representative of the larger communities.

The size of the sample from the respective communities varies. It was decided to take a relatively large sample of households in Victoria Park which, according to the indices previously discussed, appears to be the most pressing area with respect to social problems of the three communities. Bridgeland-Riverside was next in order of priority and the Inglewood Community was considered last. It was therefore initially decided that the sample size be 250 individual or family units in Victoria Park, 150 in the Bridgeland-Riverside Community, and fifty in the Inglewood Community. In Victoria Park, this sample size constitutes approximately 16% of the total number of households. In Bridgeland-Riverside, the sample was 7% of the total number of households and in the Inglewood Community the sample size was 6% of the total number of households.

The choice of who would be interviewed was a problem, as it is in most interview surveys. It was decided that because of the nature of the present study it would be best to concentrate as much as possible on the male heads of households. In the event that the male heads could not be reached by the interviewers, they were instructed to try to interview the female heads of households. It was felt that both male and female heads of households are most likely to be directly affected by fluctuations in the economic market, and are thus most likely to give us at least a present picture of where the pressing problems might lie. In addition, it was felt that a number of questions in the interview schedule which dealt with the experiences of other members of a household would provide a sufficient exploratory view of the experiences of families generally, and not the experiences only of the heads of households.

The interview schedule was designed to include a great number of areas which have been shown in other studies to be important to consider for the analysis of economic and social deprivation. The major areas included in the interview schedule are as follows: (1) marital status and family composition; (2) residential history and duration of residence; (3) attitudes toward the neighborhood community; (4) the extent of participation politically,

INTERVIEW STUDY AREAS CALGARY: 1966



socially, and economically, in the local community and the city generally; (5) the extent of social isolation and fatalism concerning the future; (6) use of and attitude toward community facilities and services; (7) occupational histories and current economic status; (8) family stresses and strains and relationships between family members; (9) evaluation of poverty and attitudes toward the poverty group in the area; (10) educational attainment for all members of the family or the respondent himself, if single; (11) attitude towards other ethnic groups residing in the area; (12) the household size and the physical facilities and amenities available; (13) aspirations for self and for other family members; (14) health status and problems. (A copy of the interview schedule is enclosed with this report.)

The interviewers were either honors and graduate students in Sociology at the University of Calgary, or were people who had worked on social surveys previously. There were two training sessions during which the purpose of the study was outlined and the methods for eliciting the required information were suggested. The interviews were conducted from late May to late August. While it was initially desired to have 450 completed interviews, it was later decided that the greater than expected length of the interviews (an average of 1 1/2 hours per session) decreased the sample size to 355 completed interviews and eleven incompleted interviews. It was felt that the information gained with the fewer number of respondents was relatively more important than not getting this information for a greater number of respondents.

In addition to the interview survey, two people were employed to serve as "participant-observers"--with the responsibility for spending considerable time in the three communities and observing as much of the community process as possible. This aspect of the study was considered important because much of the dynamics of what goes on in a community cannot be captured in the relatively static interview situation. The reports of the participant-observers then serve to supplement the data which was derived through the interviews. The participant-observers were instructed specifically to become familiar with the neighborhoods and to spend as much time as possible talking with residents, either on the street or in places of recreation and entertainment. Because some interview schedules are not complete

with respect to household income, the sample size was reduced to 311, which is further reduced when other data are not available.

General Characteristics

The data are reported under three general family income categories: 0-\$2000, \$2001-\$4000, and \$4001 and over. It must be noted that this kind of categorization can show only very general differences and similarities of individuals included in the three groups. Nevertheless, a general indication of the patterns relevant to each group will probably suffice to identify areas of greatest need with respect to preventive welfare services. Moreover, according to budget analyses, under \$2000 income for single people represents economic deprivation and, for families, severe economic deprivation.* Individuals and families earning between \$2000 and \$4000 probably vary considerably more than those earning less than \$2000. However, families earning under \$4000 have been identified as facing poverty (under \$3000) and deprivation (under \$4000).* Single people would not be similarly affected, but they constitute a small minority in the present study. Family incomes over \$4000 are generally considered as sufficient to avoid marginal economic conditions.

Thus, the three categories represent general degrees of economic deprivation, ranging from severe (under \$2000), marginal (\$2001-\$4000) and relatively good economic conditions (\$4001 and over). The reader will be able to review the variations between the three groups in order to get an impression of both "causes" and "consequences" of relative economic success.

The following tables (1-7) present figures indicative of the general differences between the three income groups:

*See report by B. Scott cited previously (Alberta's Poor, Edmonton Welfare Council, 1966), p. 6.

Numerical Distribution

Income Groups

\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over	Total
70	74	167	311

CHAPTER III - TABLE 1

Welfare Status of Heads of Households

Status (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Total who have received or are receiving welfare assistance	44	27	16
Present	28	4	4
Past	16	23	12
Total who have not received welfare assistance	56	73	84

CHAPTER III - TABLE 2

Employment Status of Heads of Households

Status (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Working	17	79	92
Unemployed	22	3	4
Retired	61	18	4

CHAPTER III - TABLE 3

Employment Status of Heads of Households, Excluding Retired People

Status (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Total Working	44	96	96
(full time)	28	88	95
(part time)	17	8	1
Unemployed Total	55	4	5
(on welfare)	28	2	2
(not on welfare)	28	2	3

CHAPTER III - TABLE 4

Ages of Heads of Households

Age Group (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
16 and under	0.0	1.4	0.6
17 - 24	1.4	5.4	6.0
25 - 34	4.3	21.6	22.8
35 - 44	7.1	16.2	26.3
45 - 54	12.9	12.2	26.3
55 - 64	12.9	21.6	12.6
65 and over	60.0	18.9	4.2
No data available	1.4	2.7	0.6

CHAPTER III - TABLE 5

Marital Status of People Interviewed

Marital Status (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Married	36	72	81
Single	21	4	11
Widowed	31	8	6
Divorced & Separated	11	15	1

CHAPTER III - TABLE 6-a

Household and other amenities and possessions: flush toilet and bath and shower, kitchen, hot and cold water, private cooking facilities and water supply, radio, private bath, television, telephone, two entrances to dwelling.

Percentages of people who have:	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
9 of 9	45.7	71.6	78.4
8 of 9	21.4	14.9	10.2
7 of 9	7.1	9.5	4.2
6 of 9	5.7	2.7	4.2
5 of 9	8.6	0.0	0.0
Less than 5	10.0	1.4	2.4
No data	1.4	0.0	0.6

CHAPTER III - TABLE 6- b

Household and other amenities and possessions: private telephone, auto (any age), auto (1961 & newer), deep freezer, separate shower and bath, private telephone (with extensions), motor bike, no accumulated refuse, adequate lighting and ventilation.

Percentages of people who have:	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
9 of 9	0.0	1.4	0.0
8 of 9	0.0	2.7	0.6
7 of 9	1.4	1.4	6.0
6 of 9	1.4	6.8	10.8
5 of 9	8.6	13.5	23.4
Less than 5	84.3	74.4	54.5
No data	4.3	1.4	4.8

CHAPTER III - TABLE 7

Number of Individuals and Family Members

Number	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
1	52.9	13.5	5.4
2	30.0	39.2	17.4
3-4	12.9	28.4	46.1
5-6	4.3	10.8	20.4
7-8	0.0	5.4	7.2
9-10	0.0	1.4	2.4
Over 10	0.0	0.0	1.2
No data	0.0	1.4	0.0

Note: This table suggests that the lowest income group constitutes the most severely deprived of the three. There are close to 47% of people in households of two or more individuals who must share an income of \$2000 and below. In the middle income group an almost equally high percentage of families (46%) with three or more members face rather severe economic deprivation. In the highest income group there are doubtless similar problems, but to a much lesser extent. The income of this group ranges from \$2000 to over \$10,000.

Interpretation of General Characteristics

The tables reveal that the three income groups differ in many respects and provide a reasonable basis for comparison of factors related to economic success or failure. Of the heads of families in the lowest income group, 44% have received welfare assistance in some form, with 28% presently receiving assistance. The comparable figures for the middle group are 27% and 4%, and for the highest income group, 16% and 4%. It is probable that 4% of the highest income group are presently receiving assistance because of earning just over \$4000 and possibly with relatively large families. The general conclusion is quite clear; the lower the income the greater the possibility of requiring welfare assistance, although this would vary considerably, depending on ethnic affiliation and involvement in the community. Many non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, for example, are more likely to form "mutual-aid" societies instead of requesting public assistance.

Table 2 indicates very strongly that the great majority of lower income people are elderly (61% retired) and without income-producing resources. Of the remaining 39%, well over half are unemployed, clearly suggesting the need for vocational rehabilitation and perhaps improvement in employment counselling and services. In the two higher groups the situation is much more favorable, with only 3% and 4%, respectively, unemployed at the time of the survey. Table 3 presents a more precise picture of employment status of people in the working force and again emphasizes the very high deprivation and dependency of members of the lowest income group.

Of all age groups, the elderly face the most severe economic deprivation--as indicated in Table 4. Of all members of the \$2000 and under group, 60% are sixty-five and over. This finding is similar to the situation in other North American communities, although the aged in the present study constitute a much higher percentage. The lack of adequate old age assistance obviously contributes considerably to the problem. At the present time in most of Canada an above-marginal income is possible mostly only during the working years. The findings are of course limited to the three Calgary communities which were studied, but it is known that the elderly retired people of Canada generally face severely limited economic resources.

Table 5 shows that the lowest income group has the highest percentage of widowed individuals, a pattern which is consistent with the relatively high proportion of elderly. Divorce and separation are also quite high, suggesting the usual correlation between poverty and family crises. Family crises appear more likely to be related to divorce and separation in the middle income group, and the highest income group has the lowest percentage of family crises relating to either dissolution or death of spouse. It may be noted here that mortality rates in North America are generally related to income; the lower the income the shorter the life span. This may further contribute to the economic problems of the lowest income group considered in the present study.

The possession of household and other amenities and facilities increases with income, as shown in Tables 6-a and 6-b. An individual breakdown of each item will be undertaken in further study. The general findings are presented here to allow consideration of some obvious consequences of

economic deprivation.

The note appearing under Table 7 suggests the number of people who must share family income divided into the three main categories.

Past and Present Community Experiences

It is known that the kind of community in which one is born has an important influence on his life chances. Being born in a slum or an affluent suburb obviously poses drastically different problems for the individuals concerned. Similarly, and perhaps even more important, rural and urban community differences have been shown to affect individuals in almost all aspects of life. The rural community is usually viewed as the place of tradition and relatively little support of economic and social innovations. Also there tends to be more reliance on family, relatives, friends and religion. The urban community, on the other hand, emphasizes both economic and social change, with more stress on individual competition and challenges of traditional religious ideology. Economic opportunities and better educational standards are usually found in cities. Thus, people born in cities may have better chances for improvement of social and economic status than people from rural communities who, in migrating to cities, find themselves in a different social world and without similar prior experience to compete as effectively as people born to the life and ways of the city.

These are very important considerations because the greatest population movement in Alberta, as in most parts of the world, is from rural to urban communities. We shall thus examine some data indicating differences between people born in cities and those born in rural communities. We shall then examine other aspects of past and present community experiences.

Tables 8 and 9 indicate some of the differences with respect to economic condition and community of origin:

CHAPTER III - TABLE 8

Percentage of people interviewed who were born in rural and urban communities (in all cases for which data were available), including both Canadian born and foreign born.

Place of Birth (percentages)	Income Group			number
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over	
Rural	69	61	38	(141)
Urban	31	39	62	(108)
Number	(52)	(62)	(135)	249

CHAPTER III - TABLE 9

Percentages of people interviewed who were born in rural and urban communities (in all cases for which data were available) and percentages born in Canada and other countries (distinguished).

Type of community where born and place of origin.	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Canadian Born:	(100%):	(100%):	(100%):
Urban	33	31	48
Rural	67	69	52
Foreign Born:	(100%):	(100%):	(100%):
Urban	28	53	50
Rural	72	47	50
Number	$\frac{30}{22}$	$\frac{32}{30}$	$\frac{71}{64}$
	(52)	(62)	(135)

The data presented in the above tables clearly show that being born in an urban community is a relative safeguard against economic deprivation. The two lower income groups have a high percentage of people born in rural communities, but the highest income group has the highest percentage of people born in cities. This finding is very striking and deserves careful attention. In a study conducted by the Centre for Community Studies in Saskatchewan* it was found that the great majority of urban dwellers who were born in

*Jane A. Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner, Saskatoon: The Centre For Community Studies, 1966 (unpublished).

rural areas experienced great problems of economic and social adjustment. Many of them migrated to cities because of failure of their farms but they were poorly prepared for the drastic adjustment--from farm operation and self-determination--to urban specialized occupations and dependence on other people for obtaining and retaining work.

In view of the increasing migration to cities in Alberta immediate action is recommended. For the older migrants information about jobs and the various services and characteristics of the city must be provided, preferably before the move occurs. Also, training and retraining centres--located in rural areas, could be established in order to aid in the transition. There can be little doubt that preparation for the move, both by the individual and community services, would greatly reduce the trauma and strains of transition.

With respect to younger migrants, rural school curricula must deal more with the realities of urban communities. Incentives might be provided to attract better qualified teachers and information and guidance services could be provided at central rural points. In any case the action must be initiated by service agencies--public or private.

The comments pertaining to the relative advantage of people born in cities must be evaluated with caution. In the older industrial cities of the North American northeast, for example, long-term urban dwellers have experienced severe economic and social deprivation. But many of these problems exist because of the rigid social class stratification of older industrial cities. We submit that Calgary can avoid similar problems because of its relative newness and absence of similarly strong prejudice and discrimination. Thus, in Alberta, the person of rural background will continue to be at a disadvantage--compared to the city-born, unless new programs are launched.

The next several tables report data relevant to reasons for moving to Calgary, duration of residence in Calgary and specific neighborhoods, attitudes and aspirations concerning future moves, and various likes and dislikes pertaining to past and present community experiences.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 10

Reasons Given for Moving to Calgary

Reasons (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Mainly because of friends and/or relatives who lived here or because of moving with them.	37.5	51.7	37.7
Specific job	6.2	5.3	12.5
Work opportunities	39.5	37.5	36.2
Desire to leave place of birth, or advice of Immigration Department officials.	2.0	5.3	10.2
Appearance, geography and climate of Calgary.	14.5	0.0	3.1
Number	(48)	(56)	(127)

CHAPTER III - TABLE 11

Things that Most Pleased Movers to Calgary

Points expressed (%)	Income Group			num
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over	
Unspecified "likes"	11.3	10.6	8.9	23
Work and/or pay	9.4	12.3	18.4	35
"People"	11.1	22.8	16.0	39
City life generally	13.2	1.8	14.4	26
Weather, physical attractions, etc.	28.3	26.3	19.2	54
Other	3.8	8.8	10.0	20
Nothing	22.6	17.6	12.8	38
Number	53	57	125	(235)

CHAPTER III - TABLE 12

Duration of Residence in Calgary

Duration (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Under 10 years	21	31	38
10 years and over	79	69	62

CHAPTER III - TABLE 13

Duration of Residence in Present Neighborhood
(percentages)

Duration (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Under 10 years	46	50	58
10 years & over	54	49	42

CHAPTER III - TABLE 14

Desire to Move Elsewhere (percentages)

Desire to move (%)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
YES	33	39	48
NO	63	58	48
No data	4	3	4

Note: The majority in all income groups who wish to move elsewhere in Calgary mentioned areas which are considered as relatively affluent (North, Northwest, and Southwest). This desire was strongest among the lowest income group but not much greater than the two upper groups, suggesting similarity of residential aspirations.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 15

Degree of community cohesion (measured by extent of relations with others in the community).

Degree of socializing (%)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Relatively:			
HIGH	34	45	42
LOW	61	55	58
No data	5	-	-

Note: The relatively low degree of social integration is consistent with the reports of the participant-observers. (See Appendix A.)

CHAPTER III - TABLE 16

Relatives residing in same community as people interviewed, and perceived difficulty of moving because of friends and relatives in the community.

Do relatives live here ? (%)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
YES	73	78	68
NO	26	22	29
No data	-	-	3
Would you find it difficult to move because of friends or relatives here ?			
YES	24	28	16
NO	70	70	83
No data	6	2	1

The differences between the three income groups are not quite so striking as was the case with respect to rural and urban differences. Our general impression is that geographic mobility and community participation and attitudes reflect a similar degree of lack of identification with the local community. Most of the differences indicated are consistent with past studies of the behaviour and attitudes of members of different socio-economic groups; i.e., members of the higher status groups tend to participate more in community activities and are generally more residentially mobile than lower status groups. The present study, however, shows only small differences between the three income groups. The similarity may be attributable to the transitional nature of the three central communities which were studied. For example, upper income members of suburban communities are generally more mobile than the upper income members in the present study.

With respect to reasons for moving to Calgary, there are some differences worthy of note. As indicated in Table 10, the highest percentage of individuals who moved to Calgary specifically to assume a new post is found in the highest income group. In other respects, the three income groups are similar, except that the percentage of respondents who moved to Calgary for reasons which are apparently not related to economic success (appearance, geography and climate) is highest in the lowest income group, suggesting perhaps a lack of realism in deciding to move to the city.

The data in Table 11 suggest that the members of the lowest income group experienced the least pleasure upon residence in Calgary (23%, compared to 13% of the highest income group). Also, the lowest income group (as could be expected) has a relatively high percentage of people who were disappointed with wages and job opportunities in the city. Contrary to expectations, however, the members of the low income group appear to have enjoyed the general attractions of "city-life" to the same extent as the highest income group, accounting for extended residence in spite of hardships.

Duration of residence does not vary significantly between the three income groups. The majority have lived in Calgary for ten years or over, although long duration is more common for the lowest income group than

for the other two. The highest percentage of relatively short-duration residents is found in the highest income group, indicating greater residential mobility in order to take advantage of opportunities. The pattern is not strong enough to stress this speculation (see Tables 12 and 13).

The data presented in Table 14 suggest the greater immobility of members of the lowest income group, with only about one-third wishing to move elsewhere, compared to about one-half of the highest income group. This finding is consistent with other studies which have shown that immobility of lower socio-economic groups blocks chances for improvement through residential movement. An important aspect with respect to social services is the need for the local community approach in order to establish meaningful contact with deprived groups--who are normally not concerned with the wider community, or who feel isolated from it.

The data presented in Table 15 indicate the generally low degree of local social participation on the part of all groups. The low degree of participation by members of the lowest income group (compared to the higher groups) again suggests relative social isolation, brought about largely by the higher incidence of single and elderly residents.

In sum, the main considerations for preventive social services are the implications of rural and urban differences in place of birth among urban residents, and the need for a decentralized local approach to problems of poverty.

Occupation and Education

It is generally known that education, occupation, and income are very closely related and interconnected. Economic resources increase with higher education and occupational achievement. Some of the data pertaining to these factors are presented here merely to provide an illustration of how they relate in the present study. Other aspects such as vocational training following formal education, and extent to which female members contribute to family income, are not so often considered and consequently less is known about them. These data are presented here in order to provide a more comprehensive view of the dynamic relationship between many aspects of employment and education. Also considered are aspirations of parents with respect to desired occupations

and educational levels for children, an often neglected--but important--factor in the transmission of social and economic conditions.

Tables 17 through 21 present data pertaining to educational and occupational status of heads of households, with some information pertaining to the economic role of females. Tables 22 through 25 show educational accomplishments of the children of members of the three income groups and also parental aspirations for their childrens' educational and occupational accomplishments.

The tables are presented together, without intervening remarks, in order to stress the interrelationship between the various data considered.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 17

Occupational category for heads of households who are presently employed (percentages).

Occupational category	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Executives, higher professionals, proprietors of large firms.	4.0*	0.0	3.6
Business manager, proprietors of medium firms, lesser professions	0.0	0.0	0.0
Administrative personnel, owners of small business, minor professionals.	0.0	0.0	4.6
Clerical, sales, technicians.	0.0	14.8	11.1
Skilled manual	18.8	23.5	41.8
Operatives, semi-skilled	18.8	23.5	19.0
Unskilled	58.4	38.2	21.0

*Note: The unexpected high percentage of high occupational achievement in the lowest income category can be understood after considering the highly significant "downward mobility" of workers included in this group--as shown in Table 18. It may be that heads of households responded to the question about occupation by mentioning last occupation held before long-term unemployment.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 18

Occupational Mobility of Heads of Households
(percentages)

Direction of mobility (movement up or down)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Movement Up	17	25	39
Movement Down	19	9	7
Stable	64	66	54

CHAPTER III - TABLE 19

Work Status of Females (Mostly Wives or Widows)
(percentages)

Status	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001-& over
Working	23	28	49
Retired	10	10	1
Unemployed	68	62	50

CHAPTER III - TABLE 20

Educational Achievement of Heads of Households
(percentages)

Educational level	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
University (graduate level), University, and partial university	3.0	0.0	6.0
High school or part high school	14.0	32.0	38.0
Less than high school	81.0	65.0	55.0
No data	2.0	3.0	1.0

CHAPTER III - TABLE 21

Vocational Training in Addition to Formal Education
(percentages)

Vocational training?	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
YES	26	39	46
NO	66	60	51
No data	8	1	3

CHAPTER III - TABLE 22

Educational Achievement of Oldest Son or Daughter
(percentages)

Educational level	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
University (graduate level), University and part univ.	0.0	3.0	8.0
High school or part high school	8.0	8.0	30.0
Less than high school but not pre-school	77.0	73.0	48.0
Pre-school	16.0	5.0	3.0

CHAPTER III - TABLE 23

Percentage of children who have left or plan to leave school before
grade twelve.

Have left or plan to leave (%)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
YES	77	48	30
NO	33	50	69
Uncertain	-	2	1

Note: The most frequently given reason for leaving school before grade 12 (for all three groups) is "need to work or desire to work."

CHAPTER III - TABLE 24

Parental aspirations for occupational achievement of children (percentages). Question: What occupation would you like for your oldest son (daughter)?

Occupation prestige level*	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
1	29	25	38
2	12	13	8
3	24	2	9
4	35	38	25
Unsure	0	21	19

*Ranges from high prestige (1 stands for professional, managerial, etc.), to low prestige (4 stands for semi-skilled and unskilled).

CHAPTER III - TABLE 25

Parental aspirations for educational achievement of children (percentages). Question: What is the highest level of education that you want for your son (daughter)?

Level	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Part or full university	62	63	69
Part or full high school	15	26	23
Below high school	0	5	3
Unsure, "up to him (her)," etc.	23	14	11

Note: Although all three income categories suggest equally high aspirations for children's education, the high percentage of "un-
sure" and "up to him" in the lowest group strongly suggests lack of direct motivation or guidance.

As expected, the majority of heads of households in the lowest income group hold or have held unskilled occupations, whereas the higher two groups include many more "white-collar" workers. In general, however, there is a high proportion of semi-skilled workers in all three groups, indicating that the sample departs considerably from the general Calgary population--where one finds a higher proportion of "white-collar" workers. Within the manual occupations of the three sample groups, however, it appears obvious that working skills are significantly high in the highest income group, and decrease with income. The relatively high percentage of high prestige occupations in the lowest income group is discussed in the note following Table 17.

Very striking differences are indicated by the data in Table 18. More people in the lowest income group have moved "down" than have moved "up." They have "drifted" from better occupations to less desirable ones (in the North American context of "success"), while members of the two higher income groups have achieved occupational success more than failure. It should be noted that the majority in each income group held the same level of occupation as originally held, with the least "stability" occurring in the highest income group. The great downward mobility of the workers in the lowest income group suggests that the outmoding of the trades and crafts has resulted in the absence of urban occupation skills mostly in this group. Without retraining facilities, these workers may have experienced sudden and dramatic loss of occupational relevance. The trades and crafts are also somewhat more common in rural areas and small towns, suggesting that the largely rural background of members of the lowest income group is an "automatic" disadvantage in the city economy.

The high percentage of employed females (almost half) in the highest income group, as shown in Table 19, partly suggests why it is the highest group. Women with marketable skills would most likely be found in this group because of the pattern of "likes" marrying "likes." (It is known that the majority of marriages occur between mates of similar social and economic background). Spouses of workers in the lowest income group are similarly likely to have comparably low occupational skills. The importance of the

data is that females should not be ignored in new training and vocational rehabilitation programs. The generally increasing economic role of women demands attention in the group where skills are likely to be lowest. It should also be noted that the "working class" traditional opposition to women working (a rural heritage) is rapidly disappearing.

Tables 20 and 21 present data which indicate the connection between occupational level and educational achievement. Over 80% of the lowest income group heads of households have less than high school education, compared to 65% in the middle income group, and 55% in the highest group. The "unexpected" 3% of people in the lowest group who have some university education may again be "explained" by the high "downward mobility" previously discussed. Vocational training following school is apparently very favorable to economic success, as shown in Table 21. The percentage of heads of households with some post-school training increases with increases in income. It can thus be seen that employment training programs have great potential in improving occupational skills; none of the income groups indicate unusually high "formal" educational achievement, but the higher two groups have a higher percentage of post-school training experience.

Tables 22 and 23 show how educational deprivation is transmitted. Children of families in the lowest income group have received less formal education than those of middle income families, and children of the highest income families have received the most formal education. The differences between the two lowest groups, however, are not very great, which merely indicates that their members are more likely to be economically and socially deprived than the "\$4001 & over" group. Considering that a high school education is increasingly viewed as the minimum for any career in the future, the lowest income group, as shown in Table 23, is in the worst position. Two of three of the children have left or plan to leave school before grade twelve, compared to one out of three in the highest income group.

Parental aspirations for children's occupational and educational achievement are also related to income, but not quite so strongly as most of the other factors. The data in Tables 24 and 25 show that parents in the highest income group have the highest aspirations for children's occupational achievement, but most parents in all three groups desire university education for their

children. It therefore seems obvious that special "pre-school" programs (similar to those employed in community action programs in the U.S. A.) and other curricula innovations to improve motivation and performance, would be welcome by all groups. The use of programs designed to accelerate the achievement of "culturally-deprived" children is, of course, especially important with respect to the lowest income groups, but there can be little doubt that all groups would benefit. It is the author's opinion that the "streaming" of children very early in school completely frustrates any possibility of equalizing competitive advantages of children of poor families and those of affluent ones (no "intelligence" test is reliable, particularly at an early age).

Family Relations

Data were gathered to help answer the question of whether the three income groups differed with respect to family relations. Families of the poor groups in North America have been described as more subject to stresses and the impact of economic deprivation than more affluent groups. It is the author's contention that economic deprivation brings about these stresses, not vice versa, as is so often assumed by conservative moralists in general. At any rate it is important to consider the nature of family relations in order to appreciate the full dimensions of economic condition. The family is still considered as the most important influence in the early years of children, and life chances are often directly affected by early experience.

Tables 26 through 29 include some "surface" indications of family differences.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 26

Change or Stability in Family Life

Question: Is your family life changing in any way? (Data include only family units.)

Situation (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Changing	23	40	55
Not changing	73	54	34
No data	4	6	11

CHAPTER III - TABLE 27

Attitudes toward family changes (including only families where change was seen to be occurring).

Attitudes (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Favorable** (Think the change is for the good)	44	78	80
Unfavorable***	56	22	20

**Most of the "favorable" responses included things such as "general economic improvement," increased understanding between members, and increased social solidarity.

***The "unfavorable" responses stressed economic deterioration, parent-youth conflict, and decreased social solidarity.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 28

Disagreements Between Children and Parents
(percentages)

Extent of disagreements	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Often and all the time	28	33	32
Rarely and never	72	67	68

CHAPTER III - TABLE 29

Disagreement Between Parents
(percentages)

Extent	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Often and all the time	53	45	40
Rarely and never	47	55	60

Interpretation of Family Relations

The data presented in Tables 26 through 29 are not sufficiently elaborate to permit any conclusions. Some interesting patterns, however, deserve further investigation. Most heads of households in the lowest income group (73%) mentioned that their family life was not changing to any great extent, whereas most respondents in the upper income group (55%) said that their family life was changing. Also, almost twice as many members of the middle income group (compared to the lowest) suggested changes in their family life. These findings make sense when it is considered that members of the lowest group are least likely to be socially or geographically mobile, and where their children are similarly affected. Of respondents who mentioned some family change (see Table 27), 80% of the highest income group thought the change was favorable (increased economic fortunes and social solidarity), compared to 56% of the lower income respondents who thought the family changes were unfavorable (including decrease in economic fortunes and parent-youth conflicts). However, the data in Table 28 contradict these findings, for the greatest majority of people who mentioned few or no disagreements with children were found in the lowest income group. Disagreements between parents (Table 29), however, were greatest in the lowest income group, less in the middle income group, and least in the highest income group. It should also be noted that marital dissolution rates were highest in the middle-income group, as discussed earlier. Over-all, the data do not warrant conclusions about comparative family conflict in the present study.

One finding is worthy of attention: the comparative lack of change in family life of the lowest income group (Table 26) suggests continuity in times of relatively rapid social and economic change, further emphasizing the social isolation of the economically deprived population.

With respect to possible future social intervention included in poverty programs, it must be realized that no amount of family guidance or counseling can be the least effective without general improvements in educational and occupational achievement. Guidance and counselling without these important changes merely reinforces dependency and the status quo.

Health Conditions, Practices, and Attitudes Toward Medicare

Health conditions are of course very directly affected by economic resources. In North America the most economically deprived groups (the lower social class and the elderly) have the greatest number of severe illnesses and the least money to pay for care. Illness, therefore, is both a "cause" and a "consequence" of economic deprivation. Tables 30 through 34 present data relevant to these considerations.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 30

General condition of family health (percentages), according to respondents.

General health condition	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Excellent	8.6	16.2	26.9
Good	41.4	50.0	54.5
Fair	21.4	21.6	13.8
Poor	21.4	8.1	2.4
Very poor	5.7	4.1	1.2
No data	1.4	0.0	1.2

CHAPTER III - TABLE 31

Health Problems of Heads of Households
(percentages)

Health status	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Have health problems which interfere with daily life.	40	20	11
Have health problems which do not interfere with daily life.	6	8	7
No health problems	51	72	81
No data	3	0	1

CHAPTER III - TABLE 32

Non-policy-holders of Blue Cross and M.S. I.
(percentages)

Do not have either Blue Cross or M.S. I.	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
	70*	41**	27**

*About half of this group do not have any kind of health insurance (including welfare).

**About two-thirds of the "middle group" and almost all of the "highest group" have alternative health insurance plans.

The most frequent reason given for inadequate insurance coverage was lack of money to pay for it.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 33

Medical care during pregnancy (including past and present pregnancies). (percentages)

Question: Did you receive any medical care?	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
YES	67	88	92
NO	33	12	9

Attitudes Toward Proposed National Medicare Program
(percentages)

General attitude	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
In favor	56	49	50
Opposed	9	15	9
Don't know and no data	39	34	33

Interpretations of Health Conditions, Practices,
and Attitudes Toward Medicare

The data presented are largely self-explanatory. The lowest income group has the greatest health problems and the least care and income. It is startling to discover that about one of three of mothers in the lowest income group are not receiving or have not received medical care during their pregnancies. This is only partly attributable to the resistance of lower class mothers to professional medical care. The provision of decentralized prenatal clinics is one very effective way to improve prenatal care in lower income districts.

The staggering incidence of debilitating illnesses among members of the lowest income group (Table 31) reflects both inadequate insurance coverage for preventive care (Table 32) and the high proportion of elderly in this group.

The generally favorable attitudes toward the proposed medicare program (regardless of income level) apparently indicate dissatisfaction with the present private-insurance programs, and endorsement of greater governmental action.

Social Participation, Prejudice, and Ethnic Composition

A number of aspects are considered here, but only in a cursory manner. Tables 35 through 41 present data relevant to social participation of the members of the three income groups, indications of ethnic prejudice, and an approximation of the ethnic background of the foreign born.

These data are presented together because they are very closely related. It is known, for example, that lack of social participation and feelings

of "powerlessness" may result in "scapegoating" and blaming other people or groups. It is also known that a high degree of social organization by an established ethnic group may also result in exclusion of "outsiders" who are frequently of different ethnic origin. It is of interest therefore to examine degree of social participation and then to look at prejudice and then, in turn, to consider the actual ethnic composition of the three income groups.

We are essentially interested in knowing whether economic deprivation is partly attributable to economic and social discrimination against members of minority groups. Our data can only provide some clues, however, because a full analysis of these various dimensions has not been undertaken for lack of time, and also because very few members of one minority group (Canadian Indians) were included in our sample (various people in the city have suggested a much higher percentage of Indians living in the Victoria Park area than is indicated by our sample).

CHAPTER III - TABLE 35

Club Membership

Member of club(s) ? %	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
YES	24	38	38
NO	73	62	61
No data	1	0	1

CHAPTER III - TABLE 36

Frequency of Church Attendance (Percentages)

Frequency (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Frequent (from more than 1/wk. to 2-3/month	36	42	44
Infrequent--or do not belong	62	57	54
No data	2	1	2

CHAPTER III - TABLE 37

Attitudes concerning relevance of religion in everyday life.
Question: Do you agree or disagree with the following state-
ment: The trouble with today's world is that people are not
religious enough.

Answer (percentages)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Agree or strongly agree	61	49	50
Disagree or strongly dis- agree	20	37	35
Undecided	14	14	15
No data	4	1	1

CHAPTER III - TABLE 38

Average of high social alienation scores (percentages)
(based on five questions relating to fatalism, power-
lessness, etc.).

Average of <u>high</u> aliena- tion score	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Average % of high score	59	54	44

CHAPTER III - TABLE 39

Prejudice and discrimination scores; based on attitudes
toward several specific ethnic groups (excluding undeter-
mined scores).

Percentage of scores	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
High or medium prejudice scores	15	16	11
Low prejudice scores	84	83	88

Latent discrimination of people interviewed and selected ethnic groups in rank order of likelihood of being discriminated against. (Based on percentage of people who would "admit through marriage" or "as close friend.")

The ethnic groups are ordered according to probability of being discriminated against.

<u>Ethnic Groups</u>
1 Canadian Indians
2 Africans
3 Portuguese
4 Chinese
5 Jews
6 Italians
7 Poles
8 French Canadians
9 Germans
10 Swedes
11 Americans
12 English Canadians

Place of Birth of Foreign-born Members of the Interview Sample
(percentages)

Place of birth (%)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
British Isles	22	18	8
U.S. & Australia	20	3	4
France	3	0	0
Germany	3	8	15
Netherlands	0	3	1
Italy and Portugal	3	28	25
Hungary	5	13	12
Poland	3	3	10
Russia & Ukrainia	43	18	13
Middle East	0	3	6
Other countries	3	0	1
Not determined	0	0	1
Number	37	40	96
Total percent	21	23	56

Comments About Social Participation, Prejudice,
And Ethnic Composition

The degree of social participation is low among all income groups, but slightly related to income level. With respect to the data in Table 35, although the majority of people interviewed do not belong to any clubs (including social, political, and job-related), the lowest number is found in the lowest income group. This is consistent with other studies which have found that club membership and general social participation in community activities increases with social and economic status.

Church attendance is also relatively low, according to the data presented in Table 36. In the highest two income groups, frequent church attendance is only slightly higher than in the lowest group, but the majority of members of all three groups either do not claim membership in a church, or attend very infrequently. These findings, however, must be interpreted with caution. It may very well be that members of the two lower income

groups did not claim membership in a church because of their membership in relatively new fundamentalist sects, a common occurrence among the socially and economically deprived. Table 37 reveals that the most respondents who feel that troubles of the world are attributable to the decline of religious belief, are found in the lowest income group. Without other data to clarify the inconsistency we will not venture further evaluation concerning religious participation. It will suffice to say that social participation, as shown by religious participation and club membership, is generally low in all groups, and (slightly) lowest in the lowest income group.

The data presented in Table 38 suggest relatively high degrees of social alienation among all groups, but the highest degree of alienation (59%) is found in the lowest income group. Social alienation is often attributable to social isolation from "meaningful" relations with others in the same community--or the wider community. The data are sufficient to indicate the need (as discussed previously) for involvement of the poor in the creation and implementation of new preventive programs. Both private and public social service agencies need to recognize that social isolation does not disappear merely because of the provision of new programs. The economically deprived must be directly involved with social workers on a daily basis in order to develop a common spirit for the accomplishment of mutually desired goals. This direct involvement has proven highly successful in community action programs such as Community Progress, Inc., of New Haven, Connecticut, U.S. A.

Prejudice and discrimination do not appear to be very great problems in the study areas, at least for the time being. As suggested by the data in Table 39, the majority of respondents have "low" prejudice scores, perhaps because of the absence of any one "visible" ethnic group in any of the areas. It may be that "latent" prejudice may become a problem in the future, if economic fortunes are not improved and members of minority ethnic groups, such as Indians, become larger in numbers (Table 40 indicates the degree of latent discrimination against various ethnic groups).

The data in Table 41 are not sufficiently complete to warrant a conclusive evaluation. It should be noted, however, that the foreign-born of non-Anglo-Saxon country of birth, generally do very well, at least according to

economic criteria. It may also be noted that people from the British Isles are overly represented in the lowest income group, a possible contradiction of usually held views. While it is not our purpose here to suggest some generally unknown facts about the assimilation of immigrants, it is important to stress that non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants have at least the same chance of success as those from the British Isles and culturally similar countries. (The U.S.A. and Australia, for example.) In fact, non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants generally do not depend on public welfare (because of their "mutual-aid" patterns), and express greater satisfaction with life in Canada (according to recent studies of the former Economic and Social Research Division, Department of Citizenship and Immigration).*

Attitudes Toward Poverty and Program Designed for its Reduction

A fuller aspect of this section will be reported in a later supplemental report. For the purposes of the present report, the most strategic data have been compiled and evaluated; the extent to which new programs may be welcomed, and the kinds of programs which may have the greatest support. The nature of attitudes toward social intervention is a very important consideration in planning new preventive welfare legislation. Our data reflect the interests of individuals who will be largely affected by new legislation and should be seriously considered before new programs are undertaken.

Tables 42 through 45 present these data.

*Data available upon request.

CHAPTER III - TABLE 42

Attitudes concerning reasons for poverty (percentages).
 Question: Do you agree or disagree with the following
 statement: "People who are poor have only themselves
 to blame."

Answer (percentage)	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
Strongly agree or agree	31	28	28
Strongly disagree or disagree	48	54	57
Undecided	16	18	15
No data	4	0	0

CHAPTER III - TABLE 43

Attitudes Toward Government Programs
Designed to Help the Poor

Attitudes	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
(Generally in favor of government programs)	(83%)	(91%)	(80%)
which:			
provide work, better pay, job training, welfare assistance	43%	39%	38%
provide counselling and family intervention	16%	23%	17%
provide better housing & physical improvements	6%	4%	5%
provide other things	19%	24%	20%
don't know	4%	7%	5%
(Generally opposed to government programs)	(13%)	(3%)	(14%)

CHAPTER III - TABLE 44

Attitudes Toward Private Programs Designed to Help the Poor

Attitudes	Income Group		
	\$0-2000	\$2001-4000	\$4001 & over
(Generally in favor of private programs) which:	(40%)	(41%)	(49%)
provide work, better pay, job training, welfare assistance	9%	6%	13%
provide counselling and family intervention	13%	14%	14%
provide better housing & physical improvements	1%	4%	5%
provide other things	17%	18%	18%
don't know	30%	23%	16%
(Generally opposed to private programs)	(30%)	(37%)	(35%)

CHAPTER III - TABLE 45

Neighborhood facilities and services (normally included in community action programs) considered as important by all people who were interviewed (by rank order).

<u>Service and Rank Order</u>	<u>Percentage who consider service as important</u>
1 Pre-school programs	75%
2 Adult education	65%
Health clinic	65%
3 Vocational training	60%
4 Legal Services	57%
Family guidance	57%
5 Day-care services	51%
6 Employment service	47%

The data in Table 42 were presented in order to indicate the extent to which individuals who were interviewed view poverty as a result of individual weaknesses, or because of other more general social and economic conditions. Historically, in North America, the "survival of the fittest" ideology has been stressed in accounting for the relative economic and social success of various individuals and groups. It was not recognized that poverty cannot be understood unless the society in which it exists was fully understood. These attitudes have changed considerably, although there is room for further change. The increased awareness of social conditions related to economic deprivation does not necessarily contradict the emphasis on "individual responsibility"; it merely places this emphasis in proper context; i. e., we are each responsible to an extent for what happens to others in our society.

The data in Table 42 indicate this increased awareness of conditions beyond the individual in the generation of poverty. Most of the respondents disagree that "the poor have only themselves to blame." It would therefore seem that the individuals interviewed would be generally receptive to social intervention to reduce problems of poverty.

The data in Table 43 certainly indicate an overwhelming endorsement of governmental intervention in reducing poverty. Only a small percentage in all income groups are opposed to such intervention. Economic aspects predominate over all others with respect to where the greatest need lies. There is an expressed need for economic betterment generally, but also for more educational and occupational opportunities.

Encouragement of intervention of private agencies is relatively low (Table 44), although the minority of people interviewed would apparently oppose greater activities by private agencies. There is also less encouragement of "economic intervention" than was the case for approval of governmental programs, but greater encouragement of "social contacts" such as family counselling. This may merely reflect the view that governmental agencies are less "personal" than private ones.

The data in Table 45 are largely self-explanatory. Most of the people interviewed generally are in favor of the same kinds of services and programs which have been employed in community action programs. Both pre-school and adult education are heavily stressed, a finding consistent with our previous discussion of the desires of members of all income groups for more educational opportunities.

ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER III

A Comparison of the General Characteristics of People Receiving
Provincial Welfare Assistance, with the Interview Study Group.

This addendum is provided in order to generally compare the general patterns associated with economic deprivation among the people interviewed with those of people receiving provincial welfare assistance. The comparison cannot be considered as conclusive but may suggest the crucial factors which lead to welfare dependence as well as economic deprivation without welfare assistance.

Considered first is the place of birth (rural or urban) of recipients of provincial welfare assistance:

CHAPTER III - TABLE 46

Place of birth of welfare recipients (for Canadians where data are available).

<u>Place</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number</u>
Urban	25	26
Rural	<u>75</u>	<u>79</u>
Total	100	105

Strikingly similar to the lowest income group considered in the previous section, the overwhelming majority of provincial welfare recipients were born in rural areas, further emphasizing the urgent need for action with respect to the rural-urban migration in Alberta.

The educational accomplishments of the welfare recipients are considered next:

Level of Education of Provincial Welfare Recipients

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number</u>
Less than 9th grade	54	64
Partial high school	36	43
High school	7	8
University (or part)	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Total	100	119

The educational accomplishments of welfare recipients are comparably low with respect to the lower income groups included in the interview survey. There is a high correlation between the community of origin and educational accomplishments of both welfare recipients and people in the lower income groups who were included in the interview study. These two factors are significantly associated with economic deprivation and must be considered in new legislation.

Next considered are occupational skills of the individuals included in the sample of provincial welfare recipients. The largest group (about half of the total) are classified as "housewives," reflecting both widowhood and aid to dependent children. Because occupational skills of these females could not be determined from the files, they were excluded from the following table:

CHAPTER III - TABLE 48

Occupation Category of Provincial Welfare Recipients

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Number</u>
Unskilled	43	50
Semi-skilled, service, operatives	35	39
Skilled	10	11
Clerical	9	10
Prof. & Managerial	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	100	113

Similar to the individuals of lower income, included in the interview survey, welfare recipients have generally very low occupational skills, again

stressing the close relationship between education, occupation, and economic fortunes.

Marital status is considered next:

CHAPTER III - TABLE 49

Marital Status of Provincial Welfare Recipients

Status	%	Number
Married, including common law	31	68
Single	19	41
Widowed	19	42
Divorced and separated	24	53
(deserted). . . .	6	13
No data	1	3
Total	100	220

Similar to the two lower income groups studied, there is a high rate of marital dissolution among provincial welfare recipients, again suggesting the relationship between economic deprivation and social problems. There is also a comparably high percentage of single individuals who may face social isolation as well as economic deprivation (given the unusually great stress on marriage in our society).

The major difference, although a minor one, between characteristics of welfare recipients and those of the lower income included in the study, is that of age. The proportion of elderly is lower among welfare recipients (below 30%), although still high compared to the general population and the highest income group studied. The highest percentage in any age group, among the welfare cases, occurs in the 30-39 years of age category, perhaps indicating the marital dissolution during these years.

The percentage of the foreign born receiving welfare assistance is about the same percentage as their representation in the general population (25%) and there are no significant differences between the representation of the native born and the foreign born, again suggesting that the myth of the foreign born constituting a drain on the economy should be finally shattered.

These comparisons have generally shown similar patterns among the

economically deprived, as discussed throughout the previous section, and those dependent on welfare relief assistance, strengthening the interview study conclusions and relevant recommendations.

Concluding Comment

The scope of this report has obviously been limited by time limitations. Many aspects of economic deprivation and its social causes and consequences have not been considered. The greatest limitation is that of micro-statistical analysis of the various data, including analysis of variance, which allows one to control for more than one variable at one time. Perhaps time and circumstances will permit this in the near future. The next limitation is that of a systematic evaluation of "life in communities" and economic deprivation, as originally planned for. The three communities were studied as one community, without consideration of the many possible differences between them. However, contrary to our expectations, some data indicate great similarity between Victoria Park, Bridgeland-Riverside, and Inglewood. All three communities seem to be characterized by economic deprivation as well as relatively low degrees of social integration, similar to central city communities throughout North America. Another study would deal with more contrasting community situations in an attempt to further compare conditions of social and economic relevance.

The findings of the study may become more immediate when it is considered that about 7% of the total Calgary population have family incomes of less than \$2000, and over 25% with less than \$4000 (1961 census figures). We can conclude without hesitation that patterns similar to those observed among the relatively deprived people included in the study would be found among others of similar income and status throughout the City of Calgary. We are then concerned about the actual or potential deprivation of over 16,000 families, and perhaps over 40,000 individuals.

APPENDIX A

SOCIAL PROFILE OF BEER PARLORS AND COCKTAIL LOUNGES

Downtown and East Calgary

Submitted by Reginald P. Farley

Introduction

The participant observation study was conducted in an area bordered by Second Street West to Tenth Street East, and the Elbow River to the Bow River. Forest Lawn Hotel was the only establishment outside this area. Concentration (three-quarters of the time--thirty-six hours) was spent in the areas bordering the Victoria Park district, and those beer parlors and cocktail lounges which appear to cater to residents of Forest Lawn and Inglewood.

The purpose of the study was to determine, within the limits of the time available, the kinds of people, i.e., class, the reasons for regular drinking, and why different patrons become attached to specific beer parlors or cocktail lounges. The study went somewhat beyond this, but in a general way an attempt was made to compare the high class establishments with those frequented by working-class people. This did not detract from the main purpose which was to determine the social climate in beer parlors and lounges used by residents in the area, the subject of the main study. The comparison tended to hold in relief the differences and, as such, tended to give a clearer picture.

The writer can claim some familiarity with the establishments visited, both high class and the working class beer parlors and cocktail lounges. For a period of fourteen years he was associated with the City of Calgary, Health Department, and in the capacity of an executive officer became familiar with many social aspects of drinking in most of the establishments which formed part of this study. Moreover, the general area is also familiar to the writer, having been assigned this as an area for public health purposes. In addition a study was made of Victoria Park in his capacity of Social Planning Consultant, with the Social Planning Council.

Assistance was afforded in this study by many friends and acquaintances (albeit unwittingly), and this assistance was invaluable. I should also like to thank Miss Barbara Scott, Research Assistant, Social Planning Council; Mr. Ian Mellon of the City Planning Department; and Mr. Frank Bach, Executive Director, Catholic Family Bureau for valuable suggestions and advice.

Examples of Marginal Establishments

The establishments (beer parlors and cocktail lounges) east of Centre Street tend to cater to a large and varied clientele mainly of working class people. This is a very general statement and there are, within this general area, "marginal" situations.

The York Hotel, located at Seventh Avenue and Centre Street appears to cater to both working class and professional people in the lounge, but the beer parlor is frequented in the main by working class patrons. The proximity of the Canadian Legion plays some part in the choice of the York as a drinking place since the 6:30 closing time is followed by migration to this establishment. Many patrons of the beer parlor in the York and the Calgarian appear to meet after work and sit, generally with friends, until 6:30, subsequently to patronize the Legion. Some patrons, however, go to the York lounge where they may have one or two drinks and in the hope that they may "pick-up a broad." It appears that once having left the beer parlor the patrons do not return and an entirely new set of customers will be found when the beer parlor opens at 7:30.

It is considered that the York lounge is in some measure a marginal situation. This would apply to the St. Louis where a number of white collar workers, mainly City Hall personnel, will be found in the lounge and beer parlor, particularly on Friday evenings. They do not mix with the working class of many varied ethnic groups (language may be significant here) which frequent this establishment as "regular" customers. Proximity to City Hall undoubtedly plays a part in choice of location. The derogatory term of "Bo-hunk" is never heard in the St. Louis, although this is a frequent term used in the York. Few personnel from City Hall drink in the Queens which is much closer. The general opinion is that this is a very low class "pub."

Comparisons of Patrons

It is generally true that different establishments cater to different classes. This is evident by dress, types of conversation, manners, presence or absence of loud or aggressive behavior and prices of drinks. In general, professional people (apart from the marginal situations) tend to drink in cocktail lounges of "higher class" beer parlors. The tendency is also in the direction of less time being spent in drinking by the professional worker. There appears to be a "consciousness of kind" and this determines largely where a person will drink. The establishment in turn tends to adapt to the kind of patron they attract. In some cases working class patrons will not take their wives to a beer parlor but will drink (usually beer) in a cocktail lounge. Choice of a lounge appears to depend on price and there is a tendency even here to choose a lounge where some degree of "feeling at home" is present. Very few working class patrons visit such places as the lounge of the Calgary Inn, the Palliser or Holiday Inn lounges. Conversely, professional people do not visit, as a general rule, the "lower class" cocktail lounges, and seldom indeed does one find such people in beer parlors such as the Queens.

Method of Study

This was facilitated by familiarity with the area under study, by friends and acquaintances in various social strata, and with bartenders and a number of managers of establishments. The study was conducted mainly in the evening. A total of forty-eight hours was spent and three-quarters of this time was spent in the east Calgary lounges and beer parlors. Conversation was engaged in with twenty groups and thirty-two individuals. Approximately three-quarters of these came (with some exceptions) from an area within eight blocks of the beer parlor or cocktail lounge. In contradistinction to the professional people who tended to come from many different parts of the city and much greater distances.

The general run of conversation was followed in all cases, and questions were introduced as unobtrusively as possible within this general run of conversation. Although some friends and acquaintances knew of my academic interests, none appeared to feel that a study was being conducted. By the process of introduction, groups and individuals were contacted. In most

cases groups and individuals were not known to the writer.

The period from 5:00 p. m. to 11:30 p. m. was the time chosen for the study. This period was convenient to the writer and also included the period most frequently chosen by working people for drinking. In all cases the level of conversation was adhered to, and no attempts to change its general course were indulged in.

Two questions were asked specifically as follows:

1. Why do people drink?
2. Why do you/we drink here?

Other questions were introduced to bring out answers and to gain further information. No one appeared to feel that a study was being conducted.

Assessment of Observations and Findings

In the main, people seek leisure in association with others of their kind, both in the lounge and in the beer parlor. They seek pleasure from alcoholic consumption and this appears to put many at their ease in a setting where they can express themselves freely, i. e., with friends.

Some individuals appear to be "isolates" and they tend to drink alone. Some of these are alleged to be "alcoholics." They do not mix with others as a general rule but rather drink for a period of time and go home. Many of these appear to be bachelors, divorcees, widows, or widowers. It seems probable that a minority of these are alcoholics.

Groups tend to meet at the same time and same place each day, or in some cases certain days or even weekly, i. e., Friday night. Anxiety is expressed when one of their number does not put in an appearance. In general a good natured camaraderie exists and if for any reason this ceases the group tends to disintegrate. In most cases drinks are bought by each member in turn, but with the recent price increase on beer, one glass (15¢) is ordered for each individual rather than two. In situations where a member is "broke" other members will buy the rounds with statements that "I will get you later." On other occasions members will loan money but expect this to be repaid on pay day. Failure to do this, or other forms of behavior not acceptable to the group, i. e., excessive inebriation, are met by social sanctions against the offending member. This may result in ostracism from the group.

Habit appears to enter into the picture relative to the establishment frequented. In one establishment where renovations took place, extending over a period of about two months, the groups and some individuals migrated to other beer parlors or lounges. Some have now returned to the original establishment, but other individuals or groups have stayed in the new bar. In some cases beer drinkers will use the facilities of a lounge and in this instance reciprocal buying of drinks ceases. Some groups regularly indulge in this kind of activity which often is due to the closure of beer parlors at 6:30.

Income, place of residence, class, and a sense of a "neighborhood" meeting place appears significant for patrons of beer parlors. Income and class but not residence is significant for the frequenters of cocktail lounges, at least in the main.

It is noteworthy that there appears to be a greater tolerance of noise, heated arguments, abuse, or aggressive behavior, provided this does not become too overt, in the east Calgary beer parlors. In these establishments which also have lounges, (perhaps due to the presence of women) swearing and aggressive behavior is not generally a feature. Tolerance of this is much less.

Many working class patrons visit the beer parlor nightly as part of the day's activities. The type of conversation is usually small talk with liberal amounts of profane language. Aggressive behavior and the most heated arguments over the most trivial matters is typical. Women, football, cars, the "lousy foreman," money, or sexual accomplishments are the usual topics. It is common knowledge that some frequenters are on relief, and in some cases they sell their relief cheques for less than their worth in order to buy beer.

Most of those interviewed in the group situation in east Calgary stated that they would not drink alone. "Oh, I might have a quick beer but if my friends were not here I wouldn't stay."

In all bars and lounges "regulars" are found. In the main these are in groups, although there are some individuals. If a group breaks up the tendency appears to be that members will join some other group. In some cases

group membership extends to more than one group and sometimes in different drinking establishments.

Satisfaction either with the effects of alcohol sui generis, as in the case of the apparent isolate or a combination of alcohol and the satisfaction of warm relationships with friends appears paramount in the drinking situation. Of significance are factors of ethnic origin, class, income, language and feeling of being at ease with associates: "I drink because this is where I meet my friends and can let my hair down." "I only get drunk at Christmas, I like beer because it relaxes me and I can bull with my friends and they with me." "I come here mainly for companionship." These are typical expressions for the reasons for drinking. The isolate on the other hand does not tend to relate easily with other people and the general impression is that he(or she) drinks to drown his sorrows or to make life tolerable.

Establishments cater to the kind of people they serve. For example, the kind of music in the St. Louis consists of liberal amounts of eastern European polkas, etc. Tolerance of racial and ethnic groups, diverse languages, behavior patterns and cussing is a feature of east Calgary beer parlors. Conversely, despite the law, "up-town" establishments do not cater to some ethnic or racial groups. In some of these lounges one never sees a Negro or an Indian. Questions concerning this brought such replies as "we don't want these scruff here," and "they are always drunk and upset the other patrons." On one occasion a Negro was refused admission to a lounge ostensibly because "he was drunk," although this did not appear to be the case, and in any event he was not as inebriated as other patrons already in the lounge who were not Negro.

There is a "neighborhood" spirit in the east Calgary beer parlors, and these serve as meeting places for many ethnic groups, friends, or workmates. A number of older people may be found within these groups but some of these and younger people appear to be isolated. Apart from the association in groups for social and psychological purposes this also forms a situation for "blowing off steam," for putting members into contact with someone who has something for sale, for getting a woman or prospective employment opportunities. There is much of a club about the situation although the fact that one may not legally move around with beer in one's hand

is a limiting factor in social intercourse. In states of inebriation this is circumvented, although tolerance of this behavior by the management is not great.

One beer parlor caters apparently to homosexuals. It is said that the police know of the situation but "leave the place alone" since "it is better we have them all in one place." The wearing of dark glasses in this establishment denotes that a man is "gay." The alleged activity in this bar appears evident for on two occasions proposals were overheard to patrons wearing dark glasses. This, of course, is not conclusive but may be indicative.

Sexual satisfaction is also a motive for visits to beer parlors and lounges. There apparently are classes of prostitutes and these vary with the establishment. In some cases men frequent these places in the hope that they will pick up a girl. A number of Indian girls appear to frequent the "lower class" beer parlors but no evidence could be found to suggest that they were in fact prostitutes although their behavior suggested this.

Conclusion

Drinking establishments cater to different clientele according to class, income, occupation, and so on. Some marginal situations exist and some overlapping relative to classes. The most frequent reason given for drinking is that people seek companionship and social intercourse with friends. The beer or liquor allows greater freedom by inhibiting the higher centres and this in turn facilitates conversation, lowers inhibition and free exchange of views in a situation of comradeship. The beer parlor is "about the only place" that many from the low income groups can "get a break" from work, from the family or from the expressed feelings of being in a situation where they feel that any behavior on their part will change anything. It is often the case that they drink to bring something into their lives for a period of time, but in the process compound their problems because of their already limited income. Such people may leave their children unattended, fail to buy necessary provisions and exhibit a general picture of apathy and inertia. Many needs are, however, supplied--companionship, sex, conversation, letting off steam, and so on. The relaxing effects of alcohol also must be considered.

The patrons of the east Calgary beer parlors are those from the Victoria Park, residential downtown, i.e., east of Centre Street, Inglewood and Forest Lawn areas. There is a tendency for Forest Lawn and Inglewood patrons to patronize the Forest Lawn Hotel. In the main people frequent those establishments that are "in close" proximity to their homes and this is a frequent occurrence, in many instances nightly.

It is considered that the main finding in this study is that the beer parlors are a form of club and that "companionship" is the most significant feature.

NOTE ON FOREGOING PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION REPORT

This participant observation report, while limited because of the time available, does point out very definitely the importance of the local "pub" as a version of the more elite clubs of members of the more affluent communities in the city. The participant observer's mention of the topics of conversations, particularly those dwelling on problems of employment as well as the family problems, suggests that there is a great bond between members of deprived populations with respect to coming together and talking about mutual problems. The most striking aspect of the report is the impression that the beer parlor serves as a very important place where people can let their hair down and try to ventilate some of the frustrations that build up in the course of the struggle for survival on a daily basis. Again, the concreteness and immediacy of the relationships between patrons of the pubs suggests the emphasis on ventilating problems that are encountered in daily life. The tendency toward grouping and toward membership in drinking cliques is also interesting because it indicates the existence of a "we" group which tends to attribute problems to "those people" who are not members. It is important also to realize that this group patterning and the differences in the social status characteristics of patrons of drinking establishments indicates a reinforcement of status groups and a continuation in problems of communication between them. It should be pointed out very strongly that the remarks of the participant observer should not be interpreted as a definition of a problem-drinking group. Generally, usual inhabitants of these pubs, if they are members of well-formed groups, do not have severe problems of alcoholism, but use alcohol partly because of the ritual that it serves with respect to the coming together of people who want to ventilate about common problems. The isolated drinkers are the ones who are more likely to be experiencing problems of alcoholism. Not being members of any group, alcohol serves completely as an escape vehicle for the socially isolated individuals.

The above comments can be boiled down to two main implications for future social action: 1. New programs must take account of the different ways of behaving of the groups of people who are well-known to each other and work together very often, and also get together frequently to talk about common problems. If an attempt is made to impose immediately "middle class" values on these individuals, communication is likely to be far from perfect. 2. Isolated individuals present the greatest challenge to programs aimed at reintegrating individuals in the community. Being excluded not only from the middle class culture but also from that of "working class culture" these individuals represent the greatest problems of social isolation and becoming part of the community. Thus new programs must be largely aimed at individuals who are relatively isolated, a group which could possibly increase with rapid population increase occurring in Calgary.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CURRENT STATUS OF POVERTY
PROGRAMS IN MONTREAL, NEW HAVEN, TORONTO, AND
SOME RELEVANT CONCLUSIONS FOR ALBERTA

General Developing Patterns

As suggested in the "prologue" to this report, comprehensive "community action" programs are increasingly characteristic of urban policies with respect to the reduction of social and economic deprivation. In Canada, Vancouver has led the way in developing a community-wide attack on problems of poverty, largely designed after the community action programs of the United States (The Vancouver Area Project). The Vancouver program consists of a co-ordinated community agency approach to residents of low income areas but apparently does not emphasize resident political action or intensive participation in designing program policies. A progress report has just been released but was not as yet obtained by the author of the present report. Similar activities have begun or are being planned in other Canadian cities such as Toronto and Montreal. There is considerable difference between these two cities with respect to both integration of efforts and public and private reactions to the new programs.

A planned trip to New Haven was postponed because of insufficient time, but the author conversed extensively by telephone with the Research Director of Community Progress, Inc., New Haven, Connecticut, during a recent visit to Toronto. The information gained is valuable insofar as the Community Progress, Inc. program was one of the first "war on poverty" community action programs in the United States--and many concepts have been either borrowed or modified by the developing Canadian programs.

New Haven

A more detailed description of Community Progress, Inc. is provided in the "prologue." The purpose of the author's telephone conversation with Dr. Elmer Luchterhand, Research Director of that organization, was to find out whether the various programs were proving successful and whether the research evaluation program had indicated any significant change

in the number and characteristics of New Haven's poor (a recent C.B.C. film documentary portrayal of the New Haven program strongly suggested great successes).

According to Dr. Luchterhand, major problems were being experienced and the research evaluation program had yet been unable to definitely document concrete changes. The major accomplishment of the program thus far, according to Dr. Luchterhand, was the resolution of some conflicts between various interest groups in the community (by bringing the conflicts into the open), and a greater potential for health, education and welfare agencies to engage in cooperative programs designed for the reduction of problems of poverty. The major problems cited are as follows: 1) The evaluation research program was not being provided the degree of support and access to program data desirable for valid interpretation of the action programs; related to this is the problem of lack of continuity in finding--for example, the President's Committee on Youth several years ago provided research money for the gathering of data relevant to causes of delinquency--including an analysis of extent and composition; however, the Committee was recently dissolved and no money was available for the gathering of data after programs designed for the reduction of delinquency were implemented; thus the impact of the programs could not be evaluated according to a valid objective research program. Also, the Research Division of Community Progress, Inc., was gradually being "phased-out," both because of lack of organizational support--and the reduction of the "War on Poverty" budget--attributable to the Viet Nam escalation.

2) The second major problem cited was the failure of the experimental "Concerted Family Services Program" (with which the author was associated in a research capacity in 1964-65) to achieve co-ordination between the health, education and welfare agencies involved. Located in the low-income housing project of Elm Haven, the Concerted Program has experienced continuing conflicts over goals and the respective roles of the participating agencies; moreover, no valid research evaluation program was being conducted and the impact of the program cannot be properly evaluated.

Conclusions

Conflicts of interests in older urban communities are inevitable but should not discourage continued efforts in bringing about changes (the very least positive result is the natural decrease in conflict through explicitness of differences).

It must also be stressed that research evaluation must be completely and continuously supported. It is the author's recommendation that although research personnel must be involved in the action programs, control and direction must be through an institution outside of the direct control and manipulation of action program administrators--namely universities. The research program must be "neutral" and outside of the influence of vested interests.

Montreal

To the extent of the author's knowledge, the Urban Social Redevelopment Project of Montreal is the most exciting and apparently successful poverty action program in North America. Launched by the (McGill) University Settlement House in June, 1965, under the directorship of Dr. J. W. Frei, the Project, aimed at the lowest income and highest social problem district in central Montreal, has achieved not only positive changes but also a unique co-operation between French and English health, education, and welfare organizations. The participating organizations are too many to enumerate for the present report, but can be described as including both French and English university personnel, the respective relevant education and welfare agencies of both language groups, and the population of the "target area" itself.

The project area is located in the East-Central "transition" zone of Montreal, straddling "The Main" (St. Lawrence Blvd.), and extending North and South to Avenue Mt. Royal and Craig Street, respectively. It is a low-income immigrant landing area with both French-speaking and English-speaking marginal and isolated residents.

The strategy of the program, according to Dr. Frei, is to involve residents in defining needs and program policy; soliciting the co-operation of municipal and provincial officials, and to bring together personnel of rele-

vant agencies to stimulate change as quickly as possible. For all intents and purposes, the project is a political action program, affording to low-income residents the political action procedures which are utilized and taken for granted by people of middle and upper income levels. To paraphrase Dr. Frei, every attempt is made to advise government officials of genuine problems and needs, and to enlist their aid in bringing about change; if, however, these efforts receive no response, the Project must continue without official sanction (in ways similar to Saul Alinsky's work in the United States). Thus far, however, there has been no need for this course of action. It is interesting to note that Dr. Frei convinced Mayor Drapeau and some provincial authorities that poverty programs are essential and Dr. Frei, Mayor Drapeau and other officials together travelled to New Haven to look at the programs of Community Progress, Inc.

The Project involves action at many levels. One significant success has been the almost total participation of residents in organizations designed to effect social change. A legitimate complaint of the residents' group referred to the unfair expropriation laws in the Province. For example, until recently, Montreal's urban renewal projects have managed to obliterate low-income housing (in favor of high-income high-rise structures) without reasonable consideration of displaced residents. Tenants were not entitled to more than a month's notice that they must relocate and landlords were fully exploiting this condition. Through the Project, enough pressure was brought to bear (by both rent-paying residents and project personnel) to bring about the creation of a special provincial commission to study and possibly modify the expropriation laws.

The major accomplishment of the Project is educational. Not only have pre-school programs been started, but the entire primary-level school system is being overhauled to enable maximum benefits from the pre-school program. It should be noted that one of the problems in the United States has been the failure to change school programs--to the extent that deprived children who definitely benefit from pre-school "enrichment" and "head-start" programs lose their advantages because "slum-school" conditions have remained essentially the same.

There are many other aspects of the Project which can be appreciated by perusal of the many documents published by the Project--notably the "Progress Report" issued in January, 1966.

Conclusions

Officially supported resident participation in bringing about favorable improvements in life conditions is more beneficial to all concerned and also more effective than when this support is not forthcoming. It should be noted that a major problem in New Haven has been the inhibition of resident-stimulated changes because of political sensitivities.

It is interesting to note that the methods of the Project have now been emulated by four or five other depressed neighborhoods in Montreal.

The rapport between Project personnel and residents was achieved through the dedicated and genuine concern of Project personnel (including many university students) over discovering the problems of residents, actively trying to do something about them, and especially by providing recreational and educational opportunities for children. There is no shortage of students at the University of Calgary who are similarly motivated.

Toronto

The situation in Toronto can best be described as "crisis and conflict." Municipal authorities have reacted negatively to programs designed for the enhancement of life conditions of the poor (based on conversations with Dr. Head, Director of Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, and "Urban Renewal Becomes Bugged in Bitterness, Confusion, and Suspicion," Globe and Mail, January 23, 1967).

The main problem revolves around the deliberate organization of tenants of such lower income housing projects as Don Mount Village and Triffan Court, where residents are demanding some role in urban renewal plans for the area, and city officials (namely City Comptroller Margaret Campbell) are objecting on the basis that outside "subversive" elements are responsible for expressions of discontent. Some social workers have resigned and there is a growing feeling of bitterness between civic officials and community workers. There has been little or no concern over the

plight of the dispossessed in Toronto and the delayed action responses of the low income group is now causing alarm among unprepared city officials who have been preoccupied with physical plans and largely ignorant of human needs.

There is an expressed need for co-ordinated efforts in Toronto but thus far the various public and private projects are going their separate ways. The main emphasis, however, similar to other cities, is low income organization for social and political participation.

Conclusion

Lack of governmental concern over conditions of low income residents ultimately results in conflicts and misunderstandings which are detrimental to the interests of both groups.

APPENDIX C

CALGARY INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

and

ORDER IN COUNCIL

Date _____

Address _____

No. _____

Interviewer _____

_____ M _____ F _____ MF

1st call date _____ time _____

2nd call date _____ time _____

3rd call date _____ time _____

4th call date _____ time _____

* * *

1. What did you think of the Stampede?

2. There has been some talk about expansion of the Stampede grounds in the Victoria area. How do you feel about this?

3. How long have you lived in Calgary?

1. _____ under six months (if transient, check here _____)
2. _____ six months to under one year
3. _____ over one year but under two years
4. _____ two years but under four years
5. _____ four years but under six years
6. _____ six years but under ten years
7. _____ ten years but under twenty years
8. _____ twenty years or over but not for life
9. _____ for life
0. _____ N.R.

4. How long have you lived in this neighbourhood? (state name)

1. _____ under six months
2. _____ six months to under one year
3. _____ over one year but under two years
4. _____ two years but under four years
5. _____ four years but under six years
6. _____ six years but under ten years
7. _____ ten years but under twenty years
8. _____ twenty years or over but not for life
9. _____ for life
0. _____ N.R.

5. Where were you born?

1. Canadian born

town or city

province

2. Foreign born

town or city

country

6. In what year were you born?

7. Are you single, married, widowed, or divorced or separated?

1. ~~single~~ single

2. married

3. widowed

4. divorced or separated

5. N. R.

8. FOR RESPONDENTS NOT BORN IN CALGARY

Why did you move to Calgary? (Probe: friends, relatives, job, transfer, etc.)

9. FOR RESPONDENTS NOT BORN IN CALGARY

What pleased you most when you moved to Calgary?

First

Second

10. FOR RESPONDENTS NOT BORN IN CALGARY

What disappointed you most?

First

Second

11. FOR RESPONDENTS NOT BORN IN CALGARY

Where did you live before moving to this neighborhood?

[illegible]

1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		

12. What was the most important thing that made you decide to live or stay in this neighborhood? Next most important. (Mark 1, 2, etc.)

1. _____ advice of friends or relatives
2. _____ price of rent or home
3. _____ "social" attraction of the neighborhood
4. _____ "physical" attraction of the neighborhood
5. _____ friends or relatives live here
6. _____ other (specify) _____
7. _____ other (specify) _____
8. _____ N. R.

13. What are the things that you enjoy most about living in _____? (state name)

14. What are the things that bother you most about living in this neighborhood?

15. Are there any changes that you would like to see happen in this neighborhood?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No (go on to number 17)
3. _____ D.K. or N.R. (go on to 17)

16. What are they?

17. About how many people who live in _____ (state name) would you recognize by sight if you saw them in a large crowd?

None _____ Few _____ Many _____ All _____
(how many) (how many)

18. About how often do you "chat" or "visit" with your neighbors? (next door or same block)

Never _____ Rarely _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____

19. Do you and your neighbors ever go to movies together?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often

10. Do your neighbors ever talk over their problems with you when they are worried, or ask you for advice or help?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often

21. Do you and your neighbors ever take care of each other's children when the other one is sick or busy? N.A.(no children)

Never Rarely Sometimes Often

22. Do your best friends live in _____ ? (state name)

None _____ Few _____ Many _____ All _____
(how many) (how many)

23.. Are your next-door neighbors of the same nationality as you?

None	Few	Many	All	D.K.	N.R.
------	-----	------	-----	------	------

24. Do you own your home?

No	Yes	N.R.
----	-----	------

How much monthly rent? _____ N.R. _____
(or mortgage payment)

25. Do you have relatives (not living in same house) living in Calgary? (or within "visiting" distance)

1. Yes

2. No (go on to number 27)

26. Could you please tell me who they are and how often you visit with them?
(beginning with relatives seen most)

Relationship	Where	Frequency of visits
--------------	-------	---------------------

[illegible]

27. Would you like to move to some other place?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No (go on to number 30)
- 3. D.K. (go on to number 30)

28. Where would you like to move to?

29. Why?

30. Would you find it difficult to move because of friends or relatives you have here?

- Yes No D.K. N.R.

31. IF YES

Would you leave the neighborhood anyway if you had a good job opportunity somewhere else?

- Yes No D.K. N.R.

32. Do you belong to any clubs, organizations, associations, etc?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No (go on to number 34)

33. Could you please tell me their names?

Clubs	Do friends belong?		Relatives belong?		Are you or have you been an officer?	
	yes	no	yes (who?)	No	yes	no

34. Who do you think is the top leader in _____ (name of neighborhood)?
(Person with the most influence) Anyone else? Anyone else?

Name	Personally known?		What does he (she) do?	Live in neighborhood	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

35. Who do you think is the top leader in Calgary?
 (person with the most influence) Anyone else? Anyone else?

Name	Personally known?		What does he(she) do?	Live in neighborhood	
	Yes	No		Yes	No
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

36. What characteristics do you think a leader should have?

37. Do you feel that _____ (state name) is getting its fair share from city hall?

1. Yes
2. No
3. D.K. (on to number 39)
4. N.R. (on to number 39)

38. Why do you say that?

39. What kinds of trouble do you think there are in this neighborhood?

Yes No D.K. N.R.

40. What do you do and where do you go when you just want to relax or just 'let off some steam' (or appropriate variation)?

41. Of the people in this neighborhood, which do you think are the "best" types?

Why? _____

42. Of the people in this neighborhood, which do you think are the "worst" types?

Why? _____

I HAVE A LIST OF STATEMENTS HERE. I'D LIKE TO
FIND OUT IF YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THEM.

43. There's little use in writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problem of the average man.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

44. These days a person doesn't really know who he can count on.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

45. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

46. The most important thing a child should learn is obedience to his parents..

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

47. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

48. If a fellow is able to get a good job after going to school as long as he has to (as long as the law requires) he is foolish to continue attending school.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

49. In spite of what some people say, the life of the average man is getting worse.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

50. Money is made to spend, not to save or invest.

Strongly Agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

51. To get ahead in the world, a person should be willing to give up old friends and make new ones.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

52. People who are poor have nobody but themselves to blame.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

53. Social workers don't really care about the people they are supposed to help.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

54. The trouble with today's world is that people are not religious enough.

Strongly agree ___ Agree ___ Undecided ___ Disagree ___ Strongly disagree ___

55. I have here a list of places and services that you can often find in different neighborhoods. Could you please tell me which of them you think are important and how often do (or would) you use them?

Place or Service	Does it exist	Important		Would you (or family member) use at least:					D.K.
		Yes	no	1/day	1/wk.	1/mo.	1/yr.	never	
Community meeting halls									
Grocery stores									
Restaurants									
laygrounds									
Gymnasiums									
Adult Education									
Pre-school Programs									
Employment Services									
Beer Parlours									
Day-Care services									
Health Clinic									
Cocktail lounge									
Pool Hall(billiards)									
Family Guidance									
Church									
Vocational Training									
Movie Theatres									
Parks									
Legal Advice service									
Swimming Pool									
Dairy Bar									
(ANY OTHERS ?)									

and what their relationship to you is? (Household = family group)

[illegible]

With so much change these days, most families seem to have a few problems with being all that they would like to be.

57. Do you feel as though your family has changed or is changing in any way?

- 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 3. D.K.
 - 4. N.R.
 - 5. N.A.
- (on to number 60)

58. In which ways? _____

59. Would you say that these changes are for the good? Yes No
If No, what do you think would be the best way to do something about it?

60. Who makes most of the major decisions in your family?

- 1. ___ Respondent
- 2. ___ Spouse
- 3. ___ Joint
- 4. ___ Other (specify): _____
- 5. ___ N.R.
- 6. ___ D.K.
- 7. ___ N.R.

61. Do you (he,she) also decide about:

- 1. What kinds of things you do to relax (type of recreation)
Yes No (who does)? _____
- 2. The friends you have?
Yes No (who does)? _____
- 3. How the family income should be spent?
Yes No (who does)? _____
- 4. Where to live?
Yes No (who does)? _____

62. Do you and your children have any disagreements at all?

- 1. ___ all the time
 - 2. ___ sometimes
 - 3. ___ unsure
 - 4. ___ rarely
 - 5. ___ never
 - 6. ___ N.A.
 - 0. ___ N.R.
- (on to number 65)

63. Could you please tell me the kinds of things you disagree about?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____

64. What ways, if any, can you think of to prevent or decrease these disagreements?

65. Do you have any disagreements with your spouse?

1. Yes
2. No (go on to number 67)

(What kinds)?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

66. What ways, if any, can you think of to prevent or decrease these disagreements?

67. (IF APPROPRIATE):

What occupation would you most like your oldest son (daughter) to have?

_____ Would he (she) agree with you? Yes No D.K.

IF DIFFERENT FROM PRESENT OCCUPATION:

What do you think are his (her) chances for getting that occupation?

Very good Good Uncertain Poor Very poor

68. Why do you say that?

Would he (she) agree with you?

Yes No D.K.

69. What is the highest level of education that you would like him (her) to have?

_____ Would he (she) agree with you? Yes No D.K.

70. What do you think are his (her) chances for doing that?

Very good Good Uncertain Poor Very poor

71. Why do you say that?

72. As you know, there are many different nationalities of people in Canada. It seems that most people feel more comfortable with some groups than with others. We would like to know how you feel about several different groups in Canada. Please give your first reaction to each nationality as a group; do not think of the best or worst members that you have known. Put a cross (X) in the rows which best show how "close" you would want to be to each group.

72. Would admit:	CANADIAN INDIANS	GERMAN	ITALIAN	POLISH	FRENCH CANADIANS	ENGLISH CANADIANS	AMERICAN	AFRICAN	PORTUGUESE	SWEDISH	JEWISH	CHINESE
1. To my family by marriage												
2. To my group as friends												
3. To my street as neighbors												
4. To my place of occupation												
5. To Canadian Citizenship												
6. As visitors to Canada												
7. Would exclude from Canada												
8. Would prefer they didn't exist												

73. If you had your choice what kinds of things would you most like to have in the neighborhood in which you live?

1. Housing (and who would you go to for help or advice)?

kind _____

cost _____

help _____

2. Health Services (clinic, prenatal care, etc.): (and who would you go to for help and advice)?

who _____

3. Does anything else come to mind that you would like to see in this neighborhood?

74. a) Have you (or other members of the family) ever needed or wanted the help or advice of a lawyer?

1. Yes (on to number 74b)

2. No (on to number 75)

3. D.K. (on to number 75)

4. N.R. (on to number 75)

b) Were you able to get this help or advice?

1. Yes (on to number 75)

2. No (on to number 74c)

3. D.K. (on to number 75)

4. N.R. (on to number 75)

c) What was the reason? _____

75. Can you think of any families around here that are poor? How many families come to mind?

76. How can you tell that they are poor? How does it show?

77. What do you think are the reasons for their being poor?

78. ASK REGARDLESS OF ABOVE RESPONSES

Do you think that there is anything that the government ought to do for or about poor families? Yes No

What sort of help?

79. Do you think that non-government (private) agencies ought to help families like these?

Yes

No (on to number 80)

D.K. (on to number 80)

N.R.

What kinds of programs?

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY.

80. Where was your father born?

1. Canada

2. Foreign

town or city province and country

3. D.K.

81. Where were your grandfathers born?

(on your father's side):

1. Canada

2. Foreign

town or city province and country

3. D.K.

82. (on your mother's side)

1. Canada

2. Foreign

town or city

province and country

3. D.K.

83. How many years of schooling have you had (if wife, ask for years of schooling of husband)?

1. ___ 0-4 (elementary)

2. ___ 5-8 (elementary)

3. ___ 9-11 (high school)

4. ___ 12 (high school)

5. ___ 13 (high school)

6. ___ part university

7. ___ graduate university

8. ___ post-graduate (non-degree)

9. ___ post-graduate (degree)

0. ___ N.R.

84. How many years of schooling did your father have? _____

85. How many years of schooling did your mother have? _____

86. What additional training have you had?

1. apprentice or practical

Type of Training
(list certificates,
diplomas, etc.)

Yrs. Completed

2. vocational

3. other

4. none

87. Do you remember what your father's first job was?

(give exact occupational title and industry)

88. Can you tell me about your father's last (or present) job?

(give exact occupational title and industry)

89. Would you know what your grandfather's (on father's side) first job was?

(give exact occupational title and industry)

90. Can you tell me about his last (or present) job?

(give exact occupational title and industry)

INFORMATION ABOUT MALE

91. Are you (or husband if respondent is female) now working, retired or unemployed?

1. ___ working full-time (specify): _____

2. ___ working part-time (specify): _____

3. ___ retired (from what job?): _____

4. ___ unemployed, (not on welfare), (last job held): _____

5. ___ unemployed (on welfare), (last job, if any): _____

INFORMATION ABOUT FEMALE

92. Are you (or wife if respondent is married male) now working, retired or unemployed?

- 1. ☐ working full-time (specify): _____
- 2. ☐ working part-time (specify): _____
- 3. ☐ retired (from what job?): _____
- 4. ☐ unemployed (last job held): _____
- 5. ☐ generally housewife at home
- 0. ☐ N.R.

93. Have you ever received welfare assistance? Yes No

What kind _____

When and for how long _____

(record any indications of positive or negative feelings)

94. ONLY IF PRESENTLY UNEMPLOYED : Could you please tell me why you are now unemployed?

- 1. ☐ physical reasons
- 2. ☐ temporary lay-off (non-seasonal)
- 3. ☐ temporary lay-off (seasonal)
- 4. ☐ right job not available
- 5. ☐ retired
- 6. ☐ not interested in working
- 7. ☐ other (specify) _____

95. What kind of job would (head of household) most enjoy?

- 1. ☐ same as present job (go on to number 101)
- 2. ☐ none (go on to number 101)
- 3. ☐ other (specify in detail): _____

96. What kind of job is (head of household) looking for?

97. What are the chances of getting that job?

Very good Good Unsure Poor Very poor

98. Why do you think so? _____

99. How is the head of the household going about looking for that job ? (F MORE THAN ONE, MARK "1" FOR MOST IMPORTANT, "2" FOR NEXT IMPORTANT, ETC..)

- 1. ___ through direct contacts with employers
- 2. ___ through a union
- 3. ___ an employment service (public or private)
- 4. ___ through friends or relatives
- 5. ___ through advertisements
- 6. ___ other (specify): _____
- 7. ___ other (specify): _____
- 8. ___ other (specify): _____
- 9. ___ other (specify): _____
- 0. ___ N.R.

100. What (additional) help or service do you think would improve your chances of getting that job?

101. Could you please tell me (for as long as you can remember) the type of work that you have done, where, and for how long, beginning with your present (or last) job:

FOR MALE RESPONDENTS OR HUSBANDS OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS OR SINGLE FEMALE RESPONDENTS

Occupational title	Where	Duration and When (years and months)	Monthly income	Reason for leaving
(present or last job)				

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____
- 7. _____
- 8. _____
- 9. _____
- 10. _____

(If more than 10, ask for first full-time job:)

102. In looking over the work that you have done, would you say that you are generally pleased or displeased? (major earner)
Very pleased Moderately pleased Unsure Moderately displeased Very displeased

103. Why do you say that? (major earner)

104. Are you a member of a labour union? (or any other union?) (major earner)

1. Yes
2. No

105. Do you think this has helped or hindered you in your job (and why)?:(major earner)

106. In knowing more about communities in Calgary, we would like to get some idea of the amount of sickness and accidents among families in this area.

How would you describe the general condition of health in your family during the last three years?

1. ___ excellent
2. ___ good
3. ___ fair
4. ___ poor
5. ___ very poor
6. ___ D.K.
0. ___ N.R.

107. Why do you say that?

108. Do you or any other member of the family now have health problems which interfere with the activity of daily life?

1. ☐ Yes (do interfere)
2. ☐ Yes (but do not interfere)
3. ☐ No, no health problems

(IF YES): The problem(s) is (are):

109. How long ago did you (or spouse) suffer from a major illness or accident?

Date: _____ Duration _____

What treatment: _____

110. Do you belong to a) MSI

b) Blue Cross

1. Yes

1. Yes

2. No

2. No

3. D.K.

3. D.K.

111. Do you have any other kind of health insurance?

1. Yes Kind _____

2. No

3. D.K.

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT HAVE BOTH MSI AND BLUE CROSS (OR EQUIVALENT)

112. How does it happen that you do not have complete medical expense coverage?

PREGNANCY QUESTIONS (IF APPROPRIATE)

113. (If not obvious):

Are you (or wife of respondent if not F) pregnant now: _____; In the past _____

1. Yes

2. No (go on to number 113)

3. D.K.

4. N.R.

114. (FOR PRESENT OR PAST PREGNANCY)

Are you (or were you) getting any care from a medical doctor?

1. Yes

2. No (on to number 116)

3. N.R.

115. (FOR PRESENT OR PAST PREGNANCY)

How often do you (have you) seen him for appointments?

1. ☐ first three months _____

2. ☐ second three months _____

3. ☐ third three months _____

116. (FOR PRESENT OR PAST PREGNANCY, IF DOCTOR NOT SEEN)

Are you then taking care of yourself or is there someone else you go to for help or advice?

117. What do you think of the National Medical Care Plan now being considered?

118. Are you a member of a church or do you attend church? _____

If so, what denomination? (Probe for the accurate name of the denomination.)

119. About how often do you attend church?

- ☐ more than once a week
- ☐ about once a week
- ☐ about 2 or 3 times a month
- ☐ about once a month
- ☐ 2 or 3 times a year
- ☐ never
- ☐ other

120. Have any of your children left school before finishing Grade 12, or do any of your children plan to leave?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No (go on to number 122)
- 3. D.K.
- 4. N.R.
- 5. N.A.

121. What do you think is (was) the reason?

122. What do you think of the school that your child (ren) attend(s)?

123. Which language do you use most in your family?

. We are interested in knowing how well people are keeping ahead financially.

124. Have you ever bought things on credit? Yes No

(IF YES): What is the total of monthly payments? _____

125. Have you had any difficulty in keeping up the payments?

- 1. ☐ all the time (has anything been repossessed? _____)
- 2. ☐ sometimes
- 3. ☐ rarely
- 4. ☐ never
- 5. ☐ N.R.

126. If you could get some money to get set up so that you could earn a better living, how do you think you would use that help: Would you want to use that help to move to where there are better opportunities, or something else? (Record carefully a probed and elaborated answer).

Move: Where, why, how does R know about the opportunities

Further training: For what, cost, duration, etc.

Small business: Kind, costs, preparation, perception of opportunities

NOW I HAVE JUST A FEW MORE SHORT QUESTIONS TO ASK ABOUT THE KINDS OF THINGS IN YOUR HOME..

127. How many rooms do you have in your home?

1. ☐ one room
2. ☐ two rooms
3. ☐ three rooms
4. ☐ four rooms
5. ☐ five rooms
6. ☐ six rooms
7. ☐ seven rooms
8. ☐ eight rooms
9. ☐ nine rooms
0. ☐ ten rooms or over (a combination living room, dining room and kitchen is still one room; don't count bathrooms, hall, or closets at all. A basement undeveloped is one room.)

128. Do you or other members of your family have:

- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| 1. use of flush toilet and bath or shower | yes | no |
| 2. some sort of kitchen facilities | yes | no |
| 3. hot and cold water | yes | no |
| 4. private cooking facilities and water supply | yes | no |
| 5. radio | yes | no |
| 6. private use of a flush toilet and private use of a bath or shower | yes | no |
| 7. television | yes | no |
| 8. use of telephone | yes | no |
| 9. two entrances to dwelling | yes | no |
| 10. private family use of telephone | yes | no |
| 11. automobile (any age) | yes | no |
| 12. automobile - 1961 or newer | yes | no |
| 13. deep freezer (separate unit) | yes | no |
| 14. both bath and shower - separate units | yes | no |
| 15. private use of telephone with extensions | yes | no |
| 16. motor cycle or scooter | yes | no |
| 17. no accumulated refuse (subjective, do not ask) | yes | no |
| 18. adequate lighting and ventilation (subjective, do not ask) | yes | no |

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS I'LL BE HAPPY TO TRY TO ANSWER THEM FOR YOU.

Approved and Ordered,

(SIGNED) GRANT MacEWAN

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Edmonton, Tuesday, June 7th, 1966.

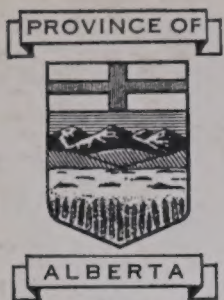
Upon the recommendation of the Honourable the Acting President of the Council, dated June 6th, 1966, the Executive Council advises that the Lieutenant Governor in Council hereby orders as follows:

1. That DR. RICHARD J. OSSENBERG of the City of Calgary, Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Calgary, be and is hereby appointed to undertake as Associate Research Director, a study in the City of Calgary as part of the project known as Community Opportunity Assessment in Alberta in conjunction with the program of the Human Resources Development Office;
2. That with respect to his study the said Dr. Ossenberg, in consultation with the Research Director of the Community Opportunity Assessment study project, Dr. C. W. Hobart, be responsible for
 - (a) developing a specific research design for the study in the City of Calgary,
 - (b) supervising all field studies,
 - (c) co-ordinating and analysing the studies made,and be required upon completion to submit a report to the Executive Council;
3. That the said Dr. Richard J. Ossenberg is authorized to engage the services of consultants, graduate students, interviewers and such other persons considered necessary to carry out the study;
4. That the following expenses are authorized in connection with the said study:

- (a) to the said Dr. Richard J. Ossenberg the sum of \$2,500.00 with \$1,000.00 of that amount payable on the submission of a progress report on or before August 1st, 1966, and the remainder payable after the submission of the completed study report to the Executive Council,
 - (b) to any consultant engaged by Dr. Ossenberg, such remuneration as may be approved by the President of the Executive Council,
 - (c) to each graduate student engaged by Dr. Ossenberg, remuneration at a rate not exceeding \$460.00 per month,
 - (d) to each interviewer engaged by Dr. Ossenberg, remuneration at a rate not exceeding \$20.00 per day;
5. That subsistence and travelling allowances be paid
- (a) to Dr. Ossenberg at the rates applicable to employees in the Public Service of the Province having a salary grade of Grade 31 or higher, and
 - (b) to any persons engaged by Dr. Ossenberg pursuant to paragraph 3 at the rates applicable to employees in the Public Service of the Province having a salary grade below Grade 31;
6. That where Dr. Ossenberg or any person engaged by or pursuant to paragraph 3 uses a privately owned automobile in the course of his duties in connection with the study, travelling allowances be paid therefor at the rates specified in clause (b) of section 9 of the Regulations Governing the Payment of Subsistence and Travelling Allowances;
7. That the total of all expenditures incurred under this Order not exceed \$15,000.00;
8. That all expenses incurred in connection with the said study be charged to Appropriation 2708 - Surveys and Commissions, Treasury Department.

(SIGNED) A. J. HOOKE

ACTING CHAIRMAN



HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

